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Political Socialism,-

WOULD IT FAIL IN SUCCESS?

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A BOOK FOR
BUSY MEN

SECOND EDITION

"Can the Poor Be Made Rich by
Making the Rich Poor?"



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POLITICAL SOCIALISM,-

Would It Fail in Success?

A BOOK FOR BUSY MEN

BY

J. S. CRAWFORD

11

SECOND EDITION

"Can the Poor be made rich by making the Rich poor?"



PUBLISHED and SOLD

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THE WRITER

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BY

J. S. CRAWFORD.

Query:—A system that proposes to overturn securities ; to abolish profit, rent, and interest ; to overthrow credit, bonds, mortgages, life-insurance, corporate titles, and commercial paper ; to support the human family on five hours work a day, — five days a week, workers between the ages of seventeen and forty-six only :—Should not such a system give some guaranty that it would succeed ? Is the endorsement of sensational newspapers and magazines, opulent in "Screamers" and "Scare-heads" only, a sufficient guaranty ? Sworn official reports of corporations, under the Income Tax sections of the New Tariff law, show dividends less than *three per cent.* Lest we flounder, is there not sore need of a Guide.—A true Finger pointing?

Again :—Gladly admitting that, with a sneer and an epithet, the Socialist can no longer be dismissed as an Anarchist,—as the mere Echo of poor, proud, disordered, Old Pierre Joseph Proudhon crying Equality! Misery! that the issue must be shifted to solid ground, clearly framed, and, in the light of reason, fairly discussed ;—that the average Socialist is well read, earnest, aggressive, and ardent in debate ;—that he is less dangerous than the Sensationalist who, responsible for nothing, attacks everybody and everything ;—all of which admitted, the question still comes :—Does the Socialist clearly perceive the difference between *writing* in a library and *working* in an office ? between *figuring* on a job and *getting the order* for a job ? between *signing* a pay-roll and *walking the floor at night to make the pay-roll good* ? between *plowing at a desk* and *plowing in a field* ? between *confiscation* and *compensation*? (Is the first just or the second possible?)—in short, is the Socialist practical?

Again:—Referring to Competition, Socialists say that, of business men, seven eighths go into bankruptcy because of small profits; while of wage-workers, they say seven-eighths live in poverty because of large profits. Reconcile? In Men and Mules, Mr. Ries contends that a wage-worker earns \$3500 a year and gets less than \$500. Then why not co-operate? There is no law against.—Is it not true that Socialists ignore the fact that true men gratify themselves by gratifying others, and, if in good company, at times, enjoy being alone?—See principles of that rare, did Individualist, William Godwin. But, by accentuating the Social-State, do not Socialists proceed upon a principle derogatory to the individual,—his primacy and privacy? and in derogation of the family,—its primacy and privacy also?

Again—Do not the last message of President Taft; December, 1910, and the transactions of the preceding administration confirm what is said in this book, *viz.*: that public business is done at greater cost than private business?

UNITED EVANGELICAL PRESS,
HARRISBURG, PA.

POLITICAL SOCIALISM,—WHY IT WOULD FAIL

INDULGENT READER:

If these preliminary pages be read without profit, have done with the book, and let it be cast straightway into the waste-basket. You are aware, Noble Sir, that we are confronted with a *live* question,— a growing, forceful question,—one, all-embracing, attractive, yea fascinating, and not altogether devoid of mystery. Shall we not proceed to consider it as becomes a citizen, patiently, and wisely? Shall we not seek to define, to discuss, to comprehend, to judge, in the spirit of a Christian gentleman? As the question is economic it is thought best to proceed by a method not unfamiliar to the politician:

WHEREAS:

Certain Finger-Boards,—in a figurative sense,—point toward the certain failure of a Socialist-State; therefore, the purpose herein is to indicate:

1. That, State-Socialism would fail because the business of the country is so widely diversified and the amount of productive industry so great, that the joint-volume of this industry and business, centralized under the control of a proprietary government, would be unwieldy and unmanageable. Moreover, some branches of industry are yet formative while others are antagonistic.

2. That, State-Socialism would fail because to vest this prodigious joint-volume of business and industry, in the hands of politicians and theorists would *multiply the opportunities for graft*;—the more Official Departments, Bureaus, Divisions, Commissions, Clerkships, and Executive Machinery; the more supervisors, bosses, sub-bosses, foremen, chiefs, commissioners, directors, detectives, secretaries, and other executive officers;—the

more opportunities for *connivance, conspiracy and corruption*;

3. That, State-Socialism would fail because its aim is to organize politics and business upon the same basis. This union of politics and business would open the door for extravagance and abuse of patronage. Under such a system it would be difficult to defeat a party in power or to dislodge a party-boss. This is not to say that Socialists are more dishonest than other people. It is to say that a majority of workmen would combine to elect a shop-man to be a shop-boss, by the same methods employed now to elect a ward-politician to be a ward-spoilsman.

4. That, State-Socialism would fail because it assumes that all shops, mills, farms, mines, factories, and public utilities, run at a profit,—and that, a great profit. But, truth to be told, the number of men, who fail in business, equals the number who succeed. Many a Captain of Industry walks the floor at night, contriving to meet his pay-roll. In the Socialist-State, Labor would have this loss to bear.

5. That, State-Socialism would fail because, contrary to fact, it assumes that there would be no antagonisms. Instance the shoemaker, granting that the shoe is a "social product."—The man who would do one-sixtieth of the work in producing a shoe, might honestly insist that he would do one-fortieth and demand one-fortieth of the proceeds. Countless disputes and contradictions would thus arise and ramify through the countless complications of a State's industry and business. Who could tell the fraction of a shoe belonging to the wood-chopper who would fell the tree to make shoe-pegs? Who could reconcile the interests of both parties to an exchange of commodities? or, of the buyer and the

seller? or, of the consumer and the producer? or, of the home manufacturer and the importer of a like product? —Answer: Arbitrary Power only: Despotism!

6. That, State-Socialism would fail because in the Socialist-State no man "would own his job." *All jobs would belong to the State.* Liberty would be a myth and freedom a mockery.

7. That, State-Socialism would fail because it assumes that a *general, public* interest is stronger than a *self-regarding*, private interest. E. g. take Agriculture: It assumes that the Book-Farmer, theoretical and non-possessing, would be more efficient than the Field-Farmer who, as proprietor and possessor in fee-simple, operates the farm. It assumes that a government-agent would rotate crops; pick out seed-corn; select male-pigs; operate a 4-horse self-binder, and reap a field of grain, down, lodged, or swailed, better than the owner whose first work was doing chores at the barn and whose sole ambition is to succeed, counting success from the farmer's standpoint.

8. That, State-Socialism would fail because it seeks to destroy competition. Now, competition attracts, enlivens, stimulates, and develops. It embellishes and advertises. It urges. If competition be eliminated, shop-windows will go undressed. Store-fronts will not be illuminated. Electric signs will not flash in esthetic rivalry from house-tops, hills and road-ways. Goods will then be stored in long, dull ware-houses and distributed by indifferent state-agents. The State will make the goods, determine the quality, fix the styles, set the fashions, and control distribution. Moreover, it is not necessary to overturn the government in order to do away with competition and its evils if any there be. Voluntary co-operation, the *Industrial Democracy*, of

Dr. Abbott can do that. There is no law to prevent and no custom to estop. If a voluntary, Co-operative Democracy can manufacture goods and put them on the market cheaper and better than Competition, it is at liberty to do so.

9. That, State-Socialism would fail because Materialism cannot satisfy human nature:

My Good Sir, is it not true that the human mind is something more than “a mechanism of meat?”

Is it not true that the sentiment of patriotism is something more than “the refuge of a scoundrel?”

Is it not true that the institution of marriage is something more than a “civil contract?”

Is it not true that there is something more to education than instruction,—“the pouring-in process?” Consider gravely: Would it be well to put the training of children, the printing of books, the publishing of newspapers, solely in the hands of a Socialist-State? In olden time, it was enough to train-up a child in the way he *should go*. But in these times, there is sore need to strengthen the boy’s will that he may restrain his feet from the path in which he *should not go*.

Is it not true that the law of inheritance is something more than “a property right?” Does it not promote and protect the integrity of the family?

In this book, it is held that property-rights are axiomatic; that the right to buy land, build a house, raise a crop, rear a family, defend established order, and advance by formative methods, is self-evident and self-executing. This right can no more be proven than $2 + 3 = 5$: attempted proof confuses only.

10. That, State-Socialism would fail because *Society* cannot be regenerated except as the *man* is regenerated. Socialism ignores the *man* and regards the *mass*. It

ignores causes and regards effects. It condemns and criticizes the whole but excuses the parts. It reverses.—Socialism substitutes "Class Consciousness" for class conscience. It substitutes the tyranny of Capital for the tyranny of Truth. It lays blame on Capital and the Mass for crime, misery, weakness, poverty, and stupidity. It releases the individual of responsibility. It blames all, acquits each: indicts everybody, convicts nobody. It would fail for:

It is better to be true than false;
Better to be wise than foolish;
Better to be brave than a coward.

Hath it not been said by that noblest Master of the Human Mind, "Prove all things, hold fast to that which is good?" Yea, verily, "the Lord made this world, not the Devil." There is such a thing as moral force.

Note 1. There is misapprehension in the public mind as to just what Political Socialism stands for. Many otherwise well-read men think of it as unfriendly to Capital and that it demands an equal division of property—neither of which is true: Something worse.

Note 2. It has not escaped attention that but few socialist votes are required in the Congress to control the balance of power and thus to force complications, concessions, and compromises. In the 5th Wisconsin district, Victor L. Berger, a Socialist, has already been elected. In a number of legislative districts, notably in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Massachusetts, Oregon, and New Jersey, Socialists have been elected. Berks County is one of the strongest agricultural communities in the United States, yet in the Reading district of that county, Mr. Maurer, a Socialist, was elected to a legislative seat, in the conservative old Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; —the reason for this is that self-constituted reformers and so-called Independent Press, with magazine writers and editors, ever alert for the evil and peculiar, have succeeded in un-settling the public mind. These men whose fathers, (perhaps yet living), may have worked

thirteen hours a day for thirteen dollars a month, have partially disintegrated the old political parties. These agitators lack composure. They lack faith in self-acting and self-executing principles. They have no patience with formative progress. It must be revolutionary and reformatory. After a time, probably after some mischief will have been done, some blood shed, this spirit of disintegration and disquietude will run its course.

Note 3. As to whether Socialists, in effect, apologize for crime, the reader is referred to Jno. W. Slayton's recent booklet: *Criminology, Crime and Criminals*. Mr. Slayton was the recent socialist candidate for governor of Pennsylvania. A discerning man must discriminate between Law without love and Love without law, maudlin sentiment, it is called. The latter, in opulent extravagance, carries roses and poetry to the jail-cell of the most willful, degenerated, and hardened of criminals. It would be difficult for Mr. Slayton to add another to his armful of bouquets. The "All and Singular" of old law-writers is cast aside. Perversion of the "All" and not propensity of the "Singular" accounts for crime. Outward conditions not inward produce the thief—this, I call, a dangerous doctrine.

Note 4. "But, behold, the post office!" cry our socialist devotees. Yes: Run at a loss; whereas, by contract it could be run at a profit. And, mark you an example:—No sooner do French letter-carriers go in from one strike, than French railway clerks go out on another. Besides, who more indolent, indifferent, incompetent, and inconsequential, than civil-service office-holders living on their uppers, money squandered for caramels and limerick, pleading to Congress always for a pension and more pay?—Who struck poor Casey out? is past finding out. Vain quest of the Socialist. But happily, at the very next chance, Casey made a hit; he scored, and a Capitalist forthwith put him into a higher league. Poor Casey never bothered his head about how long a visionary man may live on "pigeon's milk."

With these Fingers pointing, shall we not, from Casey's standpoint, proceed "to launch out into the deep," sounding Socialism to the very bottom?

Cherokee, Iowa, 1911.

J. S. CRAWFORD.

REMARKS INSPIRED BY THE SOCIALIST VICTORY IN MILWAUKEE

PRESIDENT TAFT on the Attack on Private Property:

"Of the future I shall say nothing," because you would say I was making a political speech. All that I can say is that the issue that is being framed, as it seems to me, is the issue with respect to the *institution of private property*. There are those who charge to that institution the corporate abuses, the unequal distribution of property, the poverty of some, and the undue wealth of others, and, therefore, say: 'We shall have none of it; we must have a new rule of distribution.' This, for the want of a better name, we shall call SOCIALISM." *Speech at Ada, Ohio, June 2, 1910, and iterated, next day, at Jackson, Michigan.*

When he uttered these prophetic words, no doubt, the President had in mind the results of the recent municipal election in Milwaukee.

Hon. WILLIAM SULZER, Democratic Congressman from New York, in a recent speech said:

"I am not a Socialist but I am an individualist. I would preserve the identity of the individual at all hazards. I would not have all men on a *dead level* for that is what *Socialism* would have. I would have each man stand distinct, forging ahead, one in competition with the other, and all trying to press forward, in the righteous way to the goal of human aspiration."

A. M. SIMONS, Socialist-Leader, at the Socialist-Congress, in Chicago, May 14, 1910, said:

"You might as well try to change the orbit of the comet as to win without the farmers."



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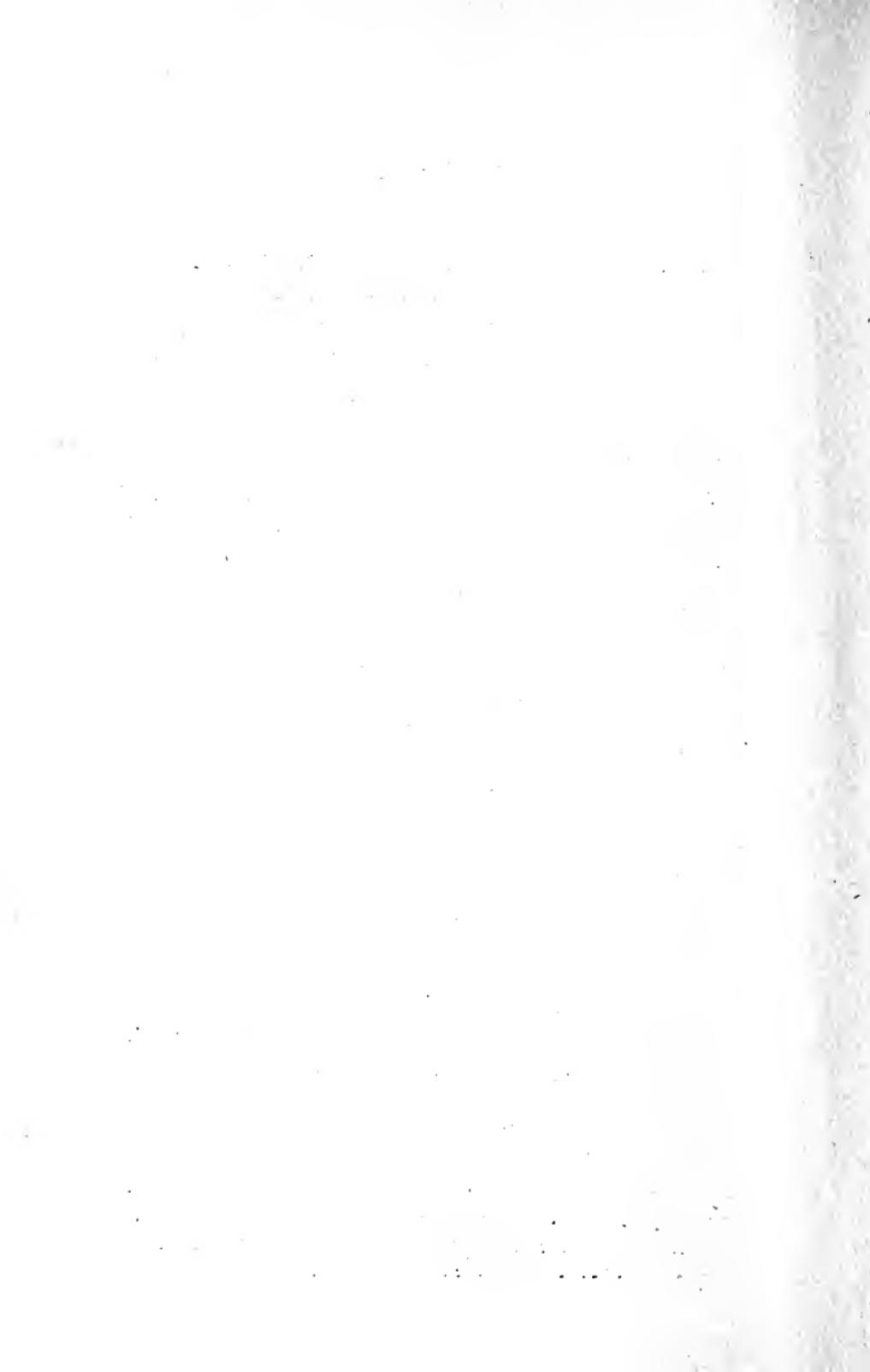
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POLITICAL SOCIALISM; A Busy Man's Book.

Preliminary Note:

Readers not familiar with the literature of Socialism are advised to read the second half of this book first, beginning at page 67; this, because the incidental and descriptive features of the subject are novel and wonderfully attractive. Readers familiar with the elemental and organic features of Socialism are advised to follow the order of the book; this, because the first half is critical and controversial, developing the principles in which the last half strikes root. Comments invited; Address, Cherokee, Iowa.

CHAPTER I.

POLITICAL SOCIALISM—IS IT GAINING OR LOSING GROUND?

FALLING BACK FROM UTOPIA, THE FIRST RETREAT.—A MARXIAN CONTRADICTION, THE SECOND RETREAT.—VIOLENCE REPUDIATED, ANOTHER RETREAT.—CONCESSION TO PERSONAL LIBERTY AND PRIVATE PROPERTY, THE FOURTH RETREAT.—ARE THESE RETREATS A CONCESSION TO ESTABLISHED ORDER?

An English thinker recently quoted with approval these discerning and attractive words: "Social life is to personality what language is

to thought."* I accept that thesis for the sake of the side-light which it throws upon the treatment of my subjects: Is Philosophic and Political Socialism gaining or losing ground?

Statistics give a ready but superficial answer. The vital and persistent force in such a movement must be measured by its elemental aspects; by its mental and moral loyalty to itself; by its persuasive and convincing harmony with facts of human nature; by its consistent, confident, and spontaneous power of appeal; by its skill in meeting criticism;—it is by such as these that the growth or decline of this thing called the New Social Order is to be gauged. A few votes here or there, more or less, signify very little in the developing stages of so revolutionary and so comprehensive a system. It will be seen at once that the inquiry pursued from these subjective standpoints is a very different matter from adducing and arranging comparative tables of statistics,—a matter, too, not without difficulty, strongly demanding discernment and discrimination.

With open minds, then, we proceed to ascertain whether systematic and contemporary Socialism, in principle, is gaining or losing ground.

*Baldwin Lectures; *The Crisis in Unbelief* by R. M. Wenley, 1909, p. 247.

FORSAKING UTOPIA

Let the inquiry first be as to the Ideal State which Socialism proposes.

At times for more than two thousand years, there have arisen philosophers and philanthropists appealing with noblest purpose, to the imaginations of man. They have painted rich pictures of social life in a certain, civil State of Perfection attained in islands in the sea, or in cities in the sun, or in grottoes in the earth, or in the future. The plans of *Oceana*, *Atlantis*, *Icaria*, *Hulee*, *Cite du Soleil*, *Vril-ya*, *Leviathan*, *Ideal Republic*, *Harmony*, *New Harmony*, *Merrie England*, *Modern Utopia*, *United States of Europe*, *Erewhon*, *Zion City*, and many others have not all been purely imaginary like Sir Thomas More's island in the Atlantic, but some have been tried out in actual experience and under the most favoring circumstances.

Robert Owens was a man of affairs. He built up large and successful cotton factories in New Lanark. He spent his fortune upon industrial communities, some in England and some in communist colonies in America.

Robert Dale Owen, son of Robert Owen, was so able a man that he was sent to Congress several terms and became a strong political factor in Indiana.

The Viscount Henri de Saint-Simon was a man of fortune and a scientist who enjoyed the friendship and co-operation of Auguste Compte. This French nobleman founded more than one communist society in France.

Charles Fourier inherited a fortune and received a good business training; he traveled in all the commercial nations in the world and worked out the plans upon which, soon after his death, several communist villages were founded; the celebrated *Brook Farm* was one of these.

From plans advocated by Socialists, Louis Blanc, an officer of the French Republic, established national work-shops in Paris, in which over a hundred thousand men were employed.— This whole Utopian movement, imaginary and experimental, found its climax in Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, a book, up to the last half-dozen years, warmly welcomed and defended by Socialists. Now, is the Ideal Republic still a potent influence in Socialism? Has it a place in the socialist programme and propaganda?

Socialist writers themselves return the answer. I quote from acknowledged authority:

“It cannot be doubted that Socialism represented by Marx and the Modern Socialists' movement is radically different from the earlier Socialism of Fourier, Saint-Simon, Cabet, Owen, and a host of other builders of

'cloud-palaces' for an ideal humanity. * * * The need for some word to distinguish between the two is obvious and the only question is whether the words 'scientific' and 'Utopian' express with reasonably accuracy the nature of the difference." * * * Then Mr. Spargo adds: "Is it not to see the past, present, and future as a whole, a growth, a constant process, so that instead of *vainly fashioning plans for a millennial Utopia*, we seek in the facts of to-day the stream of tendencies, and so learn the direction of the immediate course of progress?" *

"As a matter of fact, Morris wrote *News from Nowhere* as a retort to the machine-like Utopia of Edward Bellamy. Loving labor, he did not want to be free from it, and he could not tolerate the thought of a civilization founded upon bell-buttons and automatic machines. †

"Modern Socialists do not pretend to be *architects* of the New Order. They do not propose to demolish the present order of things, as we tear down an old building, and then compel humanity to build a new edifice according to any plan they have drawn. They have no such absurd idea, just because they know that Society is not an edifice at all, but an organism, and men are not in the habit of planning the development of a dog or of a rose-bush. * * * Utopists were

**Socialism* by John Spargo, 1909, page 231 *et seq.*

†*Socialists at Work* by Robert Hunter, 1908, page 288.

indeed capital critics but as reformers they were miserable failures. They ignored all social and political conditions. They wanted mankind to don their ready-made system as men do ready-made clothes.” *

In addition to these well-known adherents to and authorities upon Modern Socialism, many others might be quoted affirming what is said above in relation to the ideal Social State. Indeed, not satisfied with baldly and emphatically repudiating Utopia, the recognized leaders are careful to say that they do not pretend to know the form which their movement will finally assume, or the method by which it will get itself installed, or when, or where. Even Herr Marx in the *Communist Manifesto* declares Utopia as “fantastic,” without “theoretic justification,” and a “duodecimo edition of the New Jerusalem.”

But why have Philosophic Socialists deserted Utopia?

For two reasons: *First*, Utopia in reality, that is in action, failed; *second*, Utopia in ideality, that is in imagination, also failed. Both failed to respond to the full demands of human nature. Men love struggle and conquest. Literature without a villain fails. A drama without a villain fails. The man who has no set-backs to

**The Co-operative Commonwealth* by Laurence Gronlund, last London edition, page 101.

overcome, who finally fails to circumvent a villain, is no hero. The most monotonous thing in all the world is a uniformly successful man. A Social State made up of insipid goody-goodies like Dr. Leete attracts nobody.

Mr. Bellamy's *Looking Backward* laid a premium on the weak and the stupid; in effect it made the stupid man the standard; it proposed a commerce, national and international, based on card-board pay-checks; it failed to recognize that envy, hatred, malice, cupidity, militant ambition, jealousy, pugnacity, are all begotten of justifiable, yea, necessary faculties and passions,—are merely the over-emphasis of these same faculties and passions. Swine are satisfied with feed and shelter; to assume that bread, butter, and shelter will satisfy a man is to reduce him to the level of the pig.

In his essay on *The Formation of Human Character*, Robert Owen says:

“Any general character, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community by those who have influence in the affairs of men.”

But Owen failed. Icaria failed. M. Saint-Simon and his coalescence of prince and pontiff failed. M. Fourier and his palaces in which were to dwell two thousand people cohering by the

polar attraction of their affinities failed. The *Brook Farm* failed. John Alexander Dowie and his Second Apostles at Zion City failed. The Utopia of Edward Bellamy failed, while the Shakers and Mennonites, richest communities of them all, are announced to be on the point of dissolution,—the great stirring world has attracted the young people and the old have ceased to protest. These failures left to rational Socialists just one thing to do,—to repudiate the Utopists.

This repudiation has gone so far as to manifest itself over and over again in socialist literature, even in the title of books. One standard writer has a work which he calls Socialism, *Utopian and Scientific*. The scientific school rallies around the standard raised by Karl Marx so that the line is now closely drawn between the Owenites and the Marxites. Some of the latter go so far as to express a lofty contempt for Utopia and all its works.

Nevertheless this retreat from Utopia to philosophy must have been very humiliating to sentimental Socialists:—This, because it was precisely in Utopia that the conception of a systematic Socialism first arose. To desert this ground was like forsaking its very mother. Besides there is something wonderfully attractive to the benevolent but superficial and imaginative mind

in a human society where there is no such thing as injustice or wrong; where every body is fed, clothed, and sheltered in equality.

It is not at first perceived that if all hills were exactly alike, landscapes would lose much of their beauty; if all trees were exactly alike, forests would become monotonous and dreary.

It is not at first perceived that the ordinary man is prospered by the extraordinary man. Take an instance: Governor Francis and his co-workers by organizing a World's Fair and settling the best products of all nations, tongues, and kindreds upon one square section of land, for the edification and enjoyment of all the people did this by the exercise of extraordinary ability and its good results were distributed through all classes down to and including a shoveler on the dump as well as a char-woman whose only tool is a scrubbing-brush.

It is a mistake to say that the Captain of Industry, the extraordinary man, succeeds at the expense of the ordinary man,—frequently instead of taking an instrument of labor from the hand of the ordinary worker the Captain of Industry puts an instrument of labor into the hands of the worker.

It is not at first perceived that to reduce the opportunity of such men as Governor Francis

to that of the shovelers, Giuseppe and Giovanna, would be a public loss,—as ability widens, opportunity widens. Foresight takes care of that. To pull the Governor down is to push still further down such as Giuseppe and Giovanna.—All this is at first un-perceived. It is variety and unexpected change which give pleasure and zest to human life. No one knows this better than the editor of a yellow newspaper,—if sensations do not come out of the world of reality and exaggeration, he produces them out of the world of the imagination.

Indeed the very quality of the human mind which created such an interest in *Looking Backward* was ignored in the economy and structure of the society pictured in the book itself. All these great Utopian pictures, sometimes inspired by sensualism; sometimes by pantheism; sometimes by materialism; sometimes by artistic sentiment; sometimes by sympathy for learning and science; sometimes by pity for the poor, neglected, and suffering, have the lure and drawing power which ever surround mystery and the secrets of the future. To desert this great and productive field, in which the imagination could embody itself without limit, in poetic power and fancy, must have been a matter of chagrin and disappointment to all reflective Socialists. But human nature is too great a thing, too complex,

and too subtle, to be standardized by artifice or to be comprehended in rules and measures.

Does Socialism understand itself?

THE MARXIAN CONTRADICTION

In falling back from Utopia, it was necessary for systematic Socialism to rally somewhere. There was need of authority, of the glorification of great names, of the mystery of great doctrines, of appeal to mighty passions, of cogency, of coherence.

All these were found in the espousal of the Darwinian theory and the evolution of Herbert Spencer, supplemented by the historic speculations of Auguste Compte. Scientific justification was needed. From being a devotee of the Imagination, Socialism suddenly emerged into a devotee of Science,—Karl Marx and Karl Rodbertus became its prophets and interpreters.

With enthusiasm, it turned to that school of thought in which facts of the mind are regarded as related to, but also subservient to, facts of matter. Man was evolved from matter and directly fell into two classes, the oppressors and the oppressed, the expropriators and the expropriated, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The stages of evolution are marked successively by the patriarch and the servant, the chief and the slave,

the feudal baron and the serf, the patrician and the plebian, the wage-worker and the wage-payor. Society has progressed from the paternal rule of the patriarch to the tyranny of the capitalist. All social movements, political, commercial, industrial, religious, revolutionary, reformatory, reactionary, educational, scientific, philosophic; all manners and customs; all faiths and beliefs are to be referred to actions and reactions of these two classes,—industrial oppressors and industrially oppressed. This is called the Economic Interpretation of History, which, (though not always admitted) is another way of stating the Materialistic Conception of History propounded by Auguste Compte and adopted by Karl Marx.

According to this economic view, as the working-man evolved from a state of chattel-slavery to that of wage-slavery, so he will go on advancing by a process of evolution until his class greatly outnumbers the capitalistic class, then, by political force, he will come into his proportional share of all the goods produced in the Social State,—this will be inevitable because the process of evolution is inevitable.

An important corollary to all this is that the community of goods will vest in the working-man because this class produces the commodities, hence all values. A second corollary is that competition will disappear,—Socialism is the Nemesis

of competition. The capitalistic class will either be merged into the working-class or its members become extinct, so there will be one class only.

That such is a fair statement of the New Socialism I think will not be disputed by Socialists themselves. It may be disputed by others, hence I quote a few authorities:

"We never get away from the law of economic interpretation. Socialism, according to Marx, will develop out of capitalistic society, and follow capitalism necessarily and inevitably. It is a plan, not to be adopted, but a stage of social development to be reached." *

"Since the work of Lyell, Darwin, Wallace, Spencer, Huxley, Youmans, the idea of evolution as a universal law has made rapid and certain progress. Everything changes. Only the law of change is changeless. The present is a phase only of a great transition process from what was, through what is, to what will be. The Marx-Engels theory is an exploration of this process of evolution in human relations." †

"Thus the existing, local system appears to the Socialist of today, not as it appeared to the Utopians but as the result of an age-long evolutionary process, determined, not wholly indeed, but mainly by certain

* *Socialism* by John Spargo, 1909, page 116.

† *Idem*, page 77.

methods of producing the necessities of life, and secondly, of effecting their exchange."*

"Two Germans, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, two of the clearest and most cogent thinkers the last century produced, took up this labor where Compte laid it down,—or rather where Compte broke down. These two men by their joint labors carried Sociology out of its theoretical infancy and its metaphysical childhood into the full manhood of science. These men gave us the great social law which makes all theological notions and metaphysical speculations henceforth as obsolete in sociology as they have long been in astronomy and physics. This law is called the Material Conception of History. It is to sociology what Natural Selection is to biology or the law of gravitation to astronomy. By this discovery Marx becomes the Newton of political economy and historical philosophy, and the Darwin of sociology." †

"The history of society in the past is the history of past struggles. Freemen and slaves, patricians and plebians, nobles and serfs, guild-members and journeymen,—in short oppressors and oppressed, have always stood in direct opposition to each other." ‡

The question now arises is Socialism any more secure on what it calls scientific ground than it

* *Socialism* by John Pargo, 1909, page 75.

† Lecture on Auguste Compte by Arthur M. Lewis, 1908.

‡ The Communist Manifesto paragraph 1.

was upon Utopian ground? Organic evolution according to Darwin is by Natural Selection and what somebody else calls a *Survival of the Fittest*. Darwin's doctrine establishes the validity of struggle and conquest,—this is the Strongman Theory in history,—Competition, the very thing which all schools of Socialism set themselves up to overthrow and destroy.

Mr. Darwin calls one of the most remarkable chapters in the *Origin of Species* the *Struggle for Existence*. I extract a few pertinent sentences: (1) "Nothing is easier than to admit in words the truth of the universal struggle for life;" (2) "Battle within battle must ever be recurring with varying success; and yet in the long run the forces are so nicely balanced, that the face of nature remains uniform for long periods of time, though assuredly the merest trifle would often give the victory to one organic being or the other;" (3) "But the struggle almost invariably will be the most severe between individuals of the same species;" (4) "Even slow-breeding man has doubled in twenty-five years, and at this rate, in a few thousand years, there literally would not be *standing room for his progeny*;" (5) "When we reflect on this struggle, we may console ourselves with the full belief, that the war of nature is not incessant, that no fear is felt, that death is generally prompt, and that the vigorous, the

strongest

healthy, and the happy survive and multiply;" (6) "Lyell has largely and philosophically shown that all organic beings are exposed to severe *competition*."

The fact seems to be that if moral force be eliminated from evolution that the ambition of man, even now, would be "to eat and not to be eaten, to kill and not to be killed, to enslave and not to be enslaved." It seems to me that this effort to place Modern Socialism on scientific ground involves itself in a contradiction which for a better term I shall call the Marxian Contradiction. In face of this contradiction what are Socialists to do?

This brings us up squarely to the question: What is it Modern Socialists want? Let Sidney Webb, one of the brightest Fabian essayists, answer:

"The truly socialistic scheme is to make an *equal provision* for the maintenance of all an incident and indefeasible condition of citizenship, without *any regard* whatever to the *relative specific services* of different citizens and instead of leaving the rendering of the requisite service to the option of the citizen, *to require* each citizen *to perform the part allotted to him*, under one uniform, civic law."

In commenting on Mr. Webb's definition of the purpose of Socialism, W. H. Mallock

observes: "That as the man is talented he is to get less than he produces and in proportion as he is stupid he is to get more than he produces."*

But to go back to the Marxian Contradiction: If, as Mr. Spargo says, "Socialism will follow Capitalism necessarily and inevitably, not as a *plan adopted but as a development reached*," through a Universal Energy operating in Evolution,—why this propaganda? Why this bitter assault upon Capitalism admitted to be a necessary step in Evolution, hence validated on the same grounds upon which it is sought to validate the coming order of Socialism? If the Fittest is to survive and Socialism is the Fittest, then it will be evolved into power despite all other influences. While the propaganda may not work a denial, does it not tend to create a doubt as to whether Socialism believes in its own premises? understands itself?

One other thing remains to be noticed in connection with this effort of Philosophic Socialism to bring itself under the wing of Darwinism: The great leaders of Synthetic Evolution have been avowed enemies of this so-called New Order. Herbert Spencer's essay on the *Coming Slavery* is the most effective blow ever delivered against the doctrine laid down by Mr. Webb.

*Johns Hopkins lecture of W. H. Mallock, 1908.

John Stuart Mill's *Essay on Liberty* and his other writings are powerful attacks on the groundwork of the system. Professor Huxley says in a criticism on the Religion of Humanity that "it is Catholicism minus Christianity." It is evident, then, that when the Marxites fell back from the Owenites they not only reached the dilemma of a constructional denial and a contradiction but they took refuge in the house of their enemies.

This dilemma necessitated a second retreat. Under the Darwinian theory, the Fittest only shall survive: Under the Webb theory, the Unfittest also shall survive. Notwithstanding Mr. Darwin's prediction that the race would reach by-and-bye a point where it would not have standing-room, Prince Kropotkin, said to be an Anarchist and a Russian scholar of distinction, comes forward with a reconciliation:—This by way of a new definition of the Fittest. The Fittest are those who can co-operate and then defend themselves against the prowess of what Lord Tennyson denominates the "red tooth and claw." The Prince says that sparrows, pelicans, bees, ants, crows, quails, wild-pigeons, and some kinds of fish preserve themselves by this co-operation which he calls the instinct of "Mutual Aid." Here is found in nature the justification of co-operative Socialism, leaving Darwin's question of over-population still to be met and here So-

cialism finds a cover for its second retreat,—the defense of a partridge against a wild-cat.

REPUDIATING VIOLENCE

Times without number, Socialism has defined itself in platforms and programmes to mean: "The social ownership and control of *all* the means of production, distribution and exchange." In the first section of the *Communist Manifesto*, Herr Marx says:

"We have followed the more or less concealed civil war pervading in modern society up to that point, where it must break forth in *open revolution*, and then the Proletariate will arrive at supremacy through the *forcible downfall* of the Bourgeoisie."

The *Communist Manifesto*, according to Mr. Spargo, is regarded as the birth-cry of Modern Socialism. It was written by Marx and Engels and adopted by the Communist League at the London meeting in 1847. It is the fundamental canon and doctrine of the present-day movement, so regarded by all "who speak with any authority whatever" in the councils of socialist propaganda.

But what has become of the imperative edict for Proletarians to attain supremacy by *forcible downfall* of Capitalism?

C. Derwent Smith, an English writer on the New Socialism and a student who has worked out a very ingenious indictment against what he calls "artificial monopoly," says:

"There is no danger in hordes of accumulated wealth in the hands of individuals so long as a decent and comfortable subsistence is within the reach of everybody, * * * The advance to Socialism may very likely be by way of palliatives, but it will only be reached when its main idea, the public ownership of the means of production and distribution, safe-guarded by complete democracy, has been fully realized." *

In the socialist book entitled *Merrie England*, Robert Blatchford says:

"Socialism will not come by means of sudden coup. It will grow up naturally out of our surroundings and will develop gradually and by degrees." †

The same spirit runs through the scholastic and socialistic writings of H. G. Wells and the Fabian school of Socialism. American propagandists are even more pronounced than the English that the New Order will be inaugurated in a pacific manner. For instance Mr. Hunter says in a chapter entitled *Socialism in the Parliaments*:

**Natural Monopolies* by C. Derwent Smith, London, 1909, pages 135 and 159.

†*Merrie England* by Robert Blatchford, American edition, page 86.

Say it

"Socialists have no desire to pursue the desperate methods of inciting workers to insurrection. They realize that violence is a sign of weakness. Increasing influence, and a growing assurance that Socialism will eventually attain complete power, have encouraged them to work with confidence toward the end of converting a majority of the nation to their views." *

Mr. Spargo says in a chapter on the *Means of Realization*:

"True there is still a good deal of talk about the Social Revolution, and there may be a few Socialists, here and there, who believe that Capitalism will come to a great crisis; that there will be a rising of millions in wrath, a night of fury, and agony, and then the sunrise of Brotherhood above the bloodstained valley and the corps-strewn plain. But most of us think only of the change that must come over society, transferring the control of its life from the few to the many. * * * No considerable body of Socialists anywhere in the world to-day, and no Socialist whose words have any influence in the movement, believes that there will be a sudden, violent change from Capitalism to Socialism." †

President Woolsey says that the life of the International Workingmen's Association went out

* *Socialists at Work.*

† *Socialism.*

in the violence of the Paris Commune of 1871. The failure of this Commune and the ensuing death of the International may have had something to do with modifying the programme of organized and official Socialism.

This changed attitude from a programme of aggressive violence to one of democratic, parliamentary method is made all the more significant by the fact that European Socialists are divided into two branches and neither branch advocates the "open revolution," the "forcible downfall" of *all existing social conditions* as announced by Herr Marx. Both branches claim to be constitutional and parliamentary: One, the Marxite, proposing to promote its programme, as a whole; the other, the Revisionists or Opportunists, are piecemeal reformers: One proposes to overturn, the other to uplift, but up-lifters and over-turners alike agree in the end aimed at. Both branches are political, the first maintaining a party of its own and insisting on the dogma of Class-consciousness; the other seeks to accomplish its ends through existing political parties. Characteristic leaders of the first are Kautsky in Germany, Guesde in France, Ferri in Italy, and Hyndman in England; leaders of the second are Bernstein, Miller, and Turati, and the Fabianists.

The point is that neither party advocates the militant violence announced to come in the *Com-*

munist Manifesto. Political Socialism has fallen back from the vital principle, the violent programme, of its founder.

CONCESSION TO ESTABLISHED ORDER

In my endeavor to answer the question: Is Political Socialism gaining or losing ground? is it still aggressive or gradually falling into a defensive position? I adduce one more particular and then content myself with a few minor but relevant observations.

The question now comes on the attitude of Socialism toward the individual,—that is the opportunity which the proposed New Order offers for self-realization, personal liberty, and private property.

In the communes of that “gentle, mystic dreamer,” M. Saint-Simon, the entire population, all humanity, was to be organized into one family and the whole earth was to be made into one farm, the fruits apportioned in the family according to merit, the relative merits to be ascertained by scientific standards,—“From every man according to his ability, to every man according to his needs.” Members of this universal family were to be divided into three classes; workers, artists, savants. Science was to be apotheosized. The functions of pope and

emperor, spiritual and temporal power, were to coalesce. The sexes were to be equal. One man only was to marry one woman only. Religion, filial relations, property, were all to be recognized but there was to be no right of bequest or inheritance. M. Saint-Simon had been in this country serving as a soldier with Lafayette and was present at the final surrender of Yorktown. This incident in his life made him popular in the United States but so far as I can learn no effort was made to try out his social theories in America.

In the system proposed by M. Fourier, a group of five or six persons was to correspond to the cell in a living organism. Three or four of these groups were to form a phalanx; three or four of these phalanxes were to form a union; three or four of these unions were to form a district; and so on through the provinces, nations, empires, caliphates, regions, and continents, until the whole world became a unity. Two thousand people in regimentation were to live in palaces called phalansteries. Free love was to prevail. The family was to be abolished. This great industrial army was to be commanded by line officers,—unarchs, diarchs, triarchs, and finally an omniarch whose empire was the world. Labor was to be regarded as a pleasure; the products to go five parts to the workingman, four parts to capital,

three parts to talent. Under the system great improvements in production were to be made,—so great that Great Britain was to pay her national debt in six months by the sale of hens' eggs. Seawater was to be made palatable as lemonade and the North Pole was to be habitable. Man's mental and moral well-being was to be improved as well as his physical. New faculties were to develop. New senses were to make an appearance and an eye was to grow in the back of the head. Fourierism was tried and failed.

In Mr. Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, the working forces of the State were organized into an industrial army. In this army were four classes of workers, all paid the same wages,—not money but time-checks. The worker whom Mr. Mallock describes as the man of "exceptional ability" received no more than the least productive worker in the army,—that is to say Governor Francis as executive officer of a World's Fair and Giuseppe who dug ditches on the World's Fair grounds were to receive time-checks for exactly the same amounts proportioned to the time put in. In this army were captains of tens and captains of hundreds and captains of thousands,—that is to say there were lieutenants, captains, colonels and even generals. One man said to another go and he goeth, to another come and he cometh.

In a socialist book which makes itself especially serviceable by setting out official programmes, documents, writings, and speeches I find that Herr Marx himself contended for compulsory labor and an industrial army.* Curiously enough late editions of the *Communist Manifesto* have elided this article. It appeared in the second section of the document and was embodied in the earlier writings of the Marx propaganda.

The question recurs: What is the present attitude of Political Socialism toward personal liberty and private property? Does it still adhere to the doctrine of "social ownership and control of *all* the means of production, distribution, and exchange?" In vain you search the programmes last issued by German, Austrian, English, Italian, American socialist parties for the doctrine.

The Belgian programme is admirable in its arrangement and succinct in statement but nothing is said about an industrial army.

The French Socialists have issued the mildest programme of all and of course no allusion is made to this plan. Nothing is said in these various national programmes about expropriating or appropriating private property.

In an article printed in the June, 1909, *North American Review*, Mr. Spargo cleverly and

**Modern Socialism* by R. C. K. Ensor, New York, 1904, page 56.

vigorously defends his party against the charge that it seeks to socialize all private property, or circumscribe personal rights or circumvent personal liberty. "Socialism," says Spargo, "has given up the old notion of the regimentation of labor under the direction of the State."

In the 1900 platform of the National Socialist Labor party is a declaration favoring the abolition of private property without qualification. The 1904 National Socialist platform declared: "The Socialist is the only party which stands for principles by which the liberty of the individual may become indeed a fact." * * * "Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that *private property* is the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend." Except as to trust properties the 1908 platform is silent on the question of private property and personal liberty.

To conclude, then, does not this brief, citing the very best socialist authorities, clearly establish the fact that in at least four fundamental particulars Political Socialism has receded? Of course it may be said that these changes are advances and not retreats, progress and not regress. But the changes have been every time away from the ancient land-marks and toward established order. These recessions amount to

concessions. The question now comes: What is left of Political and Philosophic Socialism? Is there a saving or a losing remnant? The answer will be found in the spirit of the words quoted by Mr. Wenley: "Social life is to personality what language is to thought."

What is called *Immediate Demands* is a re-statement, for the most part, of the old populite platform. Populism failed. Socialism will fail. Both strike root in the same soil.

CHAPTER II.

POLITICAL SOCIALISM.—WHAT IS LEFT,
A LOSING OR A SAVING REMNANT?

▲ RESUME.—CARL SCHURZ ON KARL MARX.—SOCIALISTIC CONCEPTION OF THE STATE.—THE CLASS-WAR.—SURPLUS-VALUE.—SOCIALIST CONCEPTION OF SURPLUS-VALUE CORRECT, APPLICATION WRONG.—DOGMA ILLUSTRATED BY INDIANS MAKING SUN-DRIED BRICK.—MARX STOOD FOR GOLD MONEY.—ECONOMY OF TRUSTS, EXTRAVAGANCE OF GOVERNMENT.—MAYOR SEIDEL QUOTED.—ALDRICH AND SHAW QUOTED.—TYRANNY OF LAW.—TYRANNY OF THE STATE.—SHOPS DISMAL.—STORES TURNED INTO WAREHOUSES.—NO FASHIONS.—NO ADVERTISING.—THE SAVING REMNANT.

There have been two distinct schools of systematic Socialism; one speculative the other political, one persuasive the other compulsory, one passive the other dynamic, one Owenite the other Marxite; both schools have sought the same ends by exactly opposite methods. The Owenites developed into Utopia, tried out their methods in practice, and culminated their propaganda in Mr. Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, a book which is now condemned more bitterly by Socialists than by anybody else. Both practice and propaganda failed. So that the Owenites may be dismissed from other than incidental consideration.



CARL SCHURZ AND KARL MARX

Political Socialism is an off-shoot developed out of Utopian Socialism and for fifty years was concurrent with it; indeed the recruits of the former were mostly Utopians. The plan has not been tried out in concrete form since 1848, (the year in which the *Communistic Manifesto* was issued). In that year, Louis Blanc, an officer of the French government, under stress of Socialism, managed to induce the Republic to establish public workshops in Paris, in which the workmen elected their own foremen and all received the same wages. In these *ateliers nationaux* more than a hundred thousand men were employed and more than fifty thousand dollars were paid out daily in wages. In a short time there was an outbreak and a strike in which the workmen engaged. After much loss the experiment was declared to be a failure and abandoned. M. Blanc fled to England where he wrote an exhaustive history of the French Revolution. Robert Hunter, a well-known Socialist and American writer, says that Herr Marx was much indebted to M. Blanc and other French Socialists, for his philosophical and political conception of economic society, but that he looked with lofty contempt upon Utopians and their methods. No doubt that Hunter is right for Marx was an ar-

bitrary man. Speaking of a political club meeting at Cologne, a very distinguished American publicist says:

"Among others, the leader of the Communists, Karl Marx was there. He could not have been much more than thirty years old at the time, but already was the recognized head of the advanced socialist school. The somewhat thick-set man, with his broad forehead, his very black hair and beard and his dark sparkling eyes at once attracted general attention. He enjoyed the reputation of having acquired great learning, and as I knew very little of his discoveries and theories, I was all the more eager to gather words of wisdom from the lips of that famous man. This expectation was disappointed in a peculiar way. Marx's utterances were full of meaning, logical and clear, but I have never seen a man whose bearing was so provoking and intolerable. To no opinion, which differed from his, he accorded the honor of even a condescending consideration. Everyone who contradicted him he treated with abject contempt; every argument which he did not like he answered with biting scorn at the unfathomable ignorance that had prompted it, or with opprobrious aspersions upon the motive of him who had advanced it.
* * * Of course the proposition advanced or advocated by Marx at that meeting was voted down." *

The writer then goes on to tell how he took home the important lesson, that he who would be the leader and teacher of men must treat the opinions of others with respect. It might be interesting to inquire whether the time did not come when Mr. Schurz forgot this "important lesson."

As I sat in the gallery at the National Socialist convention in Brands's Hall, Chicago, May 10, 1908, and saw the demeanor of the delegates toward each other, and heard the debates, Schurz's words forced themselves upon me. Identically the same spirit and disposition manifest in Cologne, in 1848, was manifest in Chicago, in 1908, no less in the female than in the male delegates.

But coming back to our main theme: It is singularly worthy of notice that the very year, save one, in which State Socialism was declared to be a *practical* failure in Paris, it was declared to be a *theoretical* success in London. In its escape from Utopia, political Socialism fell back to the theory of evolution where for a time it made great headway under the assumed sanction of that mighty philosophy; but in time, it here encountered the Marxian Contradiction involved in the Struggle for Existence, the Survival of the Fittest, a principle directly contrary to co-operation; it then fell back to the "Mutual Aid" theory of Prince Kropotkin; next it encountered

the overwhelming sentiment against a compulsory, industrial army and the charge that it forestalled personal liberty and circumvented the rights of personal property; it has now fallen back from this position and its leaders declare that neither personal liberty nor private property is repugnant to its spirit and policy,—indeed the wisest of these leaders proclaim themselves to be champions of both personal liberty and private property. Notwithstanding the writings of Herron, Patterson, Sinclair, Garland, and Wells, Socialism has greatly modified its attitude towards the institution of marriage, the family, the sentiment of patriotism, and religious worship.

SOCIALIST CONCEPTION OF THE STATE

Before inquiring into what is left of Philosophic and Political Socialism, it may be well to investigate the underlying principle, the ultimate sanction, upon which it claims to rest and by which it seeks to justify itself.

After the manner of Auguste Compte,—to whom, as before remarked, it does not always give credit,—Philosophic Socialism conceives that *the Man* is made for *the State* and not the State for the Man. Humanity in the abstract becomes an entity. This entity is idealized. Not, perhaps, in concrete form as the spirit of the

United States is idealized in the figure of Uncle Sam or as British character is represented in pictures of John Bull: Nevertheless an entity. I am not aware that Socialists go as far as M. Compte in making Humanity an object of worship wherein the mother represents the past, the wife the present, the daughter the future. But as a fundamental proposition of Political Socialism, social relations are everything. An acknowledged authority has worked this out beautifully, in these words:

“We insist, therefore, that the State is a living organism, differing from other organisms in no essential respect.”

“Socialists repudiate the theory of ‘natural rights’ and insist that the lesson taught by Rousseau and repeated (why not say it outright?) in the *American Declaration of Independence* must be unlearned before any firm foundation can be reached.”

“It is Society, organized Society, that gives us all the rights we have. To the State we owe our freedom. To it we owe our living and property, for, outside of organized Society, man’s needs far surpass his means. The humble beggar owes much to the State, but the haughty millionaire far more, for, outside of it, they would both be worse off than the beggar is now. To it we owe all that we are and all that we have. To it we owe our civilization. The State is the organic

union of us wherein we wage war against Nature to subdue it, to redress natural defects and inequalities. The State, therefore, so far from being a burden to the 'good,' a 'necessary evil,' is man's greatest good."

"The State may to-morrow, if it judges expedient, take all the capital of the country from its present owners, without any compensation whatever and convert it into social capital."

"As against the State even labor does not give us a particle of title to what our hands and brains produce.—The axe you use is not yours though your hands have made it, instead of buying it in the market. The idea of the axe, its potentiality, which enables it to prevail over nature, does not belong to you. This is the result of long generations of development, from the rudest stone-tool to the elegant steel-blade which rings through the pine woods of Maine. This belongs to Society. Neither the laborer nor the capitalist owns the principle. So everywhere. Neither labor nor capital employs the other. It is Society which employs both. To whom does the telegraph belong? To Society. Neither Professor Morse nor any other inventor can lay claim to it. It grew little by little."

"Since the State is an organism it is more than all of us collectively. It rightly includes the dead, the living, and the coming generations."

"Children do not belong to their parents; they belong to Society."*

A writer, Georgia Kotsch, in the June 1910 *International Socialist Review*, speaking of mothers says:

"That baby which you call yours is not wholly yours. She has individual rights and Society has a claim upon her. The kindergarten is fitted as you are not to care for her. You surrender her to one after another of the trained educators provided by Society. Other mothers surrender the feeding of their children to cooks provided by Society."

Such is the thesis which constructive, aggressive, philosophic, critical, Political Socialism postulates and defends. Mr. Gronlund has long been regarded as one of its foremost exponents in this country. A casual examination will at once reveal its close identity with the doctrine of Humanity expounded by the great author of the Positive Philosophy.

Here, then, is the conception of the State, the sanction of the New Order. The individual is an incident; the State everything. It is a bold doctrine boldly avowed. But we have seen as a matter of practice and as a policy of expediency, recession after recession has been made until an

**Co-operative Commonwealth* by Laurence Gronlund, last London edition, page 81 *et seq.* Also page 216.

interesting inquiry is raised: What practically is left of Political Socialism? Later on I shall raise and answer the question: Without the individual what becomes of the State? Eliminate the man and who would invent the telegraph? Who would forge and temper the beautiful axe which rings out so musically in the pine-woods of Maine?

CLASS WAR AND SURPLUS VALUE

Accepting, then, in good faith, the waivers of the right of the socialistic State to form a compulsory, industrial army; to abolish private property; to circumvent personal liberty; to forestall self-realization; to insist upon an abstract, idealized entity of Society; to attack the institution of the family, religious worship, and the sentiment of patriotism,—accepting all these waivers, we find two fundamental propositions left, *viz.*: (1) The proposition of class-consciousness; (2) The proposition of surplus-value. These two propositions are the residue,—are they a losing or a saving remnant?

Suppose that it should turn out that after expediency has forced these waivers, that the waivers have neutralized the propositions contended for: Is it not possible that if Socialism be a rational system, that the recessions and

waivers may have cut the very ground from under it?

I think we shall all agree that Political Socialism seeks to institute one thing and eliminate another: Through dynamic self-consciousness it seeks to destroy surplus-value,—perhaps I ought to say appropriate surplus-value. Its expression is to take some form of democracy. We shall agree that its philosophy will be the Economic Interpretation of History which, by the way, is not quite so repugnant to the Christian world as the Materialistic Conception of History, and we shall agree that class-consciousness is not to be an end unto itself but a means to reach surplus-value. Agreeing thus far we may dispose of the dogma of self-consciousness in few words.

This dogma rests upon the proposition that the worker cannot permanently help himself as an individual. He must act with and through his class and as his class is enlightened and liberated, so will he be enlightened and liberated. Getting a perception of this into the mind of the worker is properly called getting class-consciousness,—the motive, it is said, meets the approval of the worker's conscience: Thus class-consciousness and class-conscience mutually support each other. The method of Political Socialism being democratic it must receive the sanction of a majority through agitation and education. When it comes

into power it will absorb all other classes and thus class-distinction will disappear; it will have served its purpose.

Pertinent to the class-struggle, Herr Marx has written little but that little is to the point. I quote:

“In the former case, we had the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers; in the latter, we have the expropriation of the few by the mass of the people.” * * *

“We have seen that the continual tendency and the law of development of capitalist production is to separate the means of production more and more from labor, and to concentrate the scattered means of production more and more in large groups thereby transforming labor into wage-labor and the means of production into capital.” *

“The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalistic integument. This integument is burst assunder. The knell of capitalistic, private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.” †

This dogma of self-consciousness especially as announced in the *Communist Manifesto* has been

**Capital* by Karl Marx Vol. III, page 1031.

†*Capital* by Karl Marx, Vol. I, page 847.

severely criticised by the Rgt. Hon. H. O. Arnold-Forster, James Edward le Rossignol, and others. But as it is admittedly a mere matter of method, contingent upon the main proposition, I pass it without further consideration save to note that Socialism, having chosen the weapons, it cannot be heard to complain if class-war be invoked against it. Retaliation in kind is always in order. "Brayed in the mortar with wheat yet will they not depart from their own foolishness," was said a long time ago. The folly in this case will become apparent when we come to define the classes, estimate their relative numbers, and consider their component parts.

DOCTRINE OF SURPLUS-VALUE ILLUSTRATED

Elimination has now so simplified matters that we readily see that the whole system of philosophic, Political Socialism turns upon one question,—surplus-value. And that is exactly what Herr Marx intended. As an abstract and original question, I am not inclined to dispute the validity of the surplus-value theory any more than I am the abstract real-estate theory of Henry George. But I follow Spencer in his contention that vested rights have an equity which ought not and which cannot be ignored, and I insist

that surplus-value in this country is apportioned to both Labor and Capital.

The State itself was founded by force. Its roots may be traced to illegitimacy.* We have seen in the words of Mr. Gronlund how Socialists recognize its vested rights; yea apotheosize them. To demand vested rights for the State and to deny them to the individual is a reversal of the natural order,—an impossible thesis.

A review of the theory of surplus-value now seems necessary. Briefly it is this: Commodities are the products of units of average labor-power. Labor-power is itself a commodity. Its cost is the production and maintenance of a labor-man. Its cost abstractly is its value. This value reappears in the commodities which it produces. So that in the Ideal State, the community of goods would be distributed, one unit of commodity-value to one unit of average labor-power value expressed in a common measure such as gold. Rent, profit, interest, speculation, do not increase the mass of commodities,—only average labor-power units do that. Hence the units of commodity value which go to interest, rent, profit, speculation, do not go to the labor-power value.

In a capitalistic community, then, interest, rent, profit, speculation are said to exploit labor;—

*The reader is referred to *The History of Civilization* by M. Guizot.

that is to say where labor-power is sold at its exchange value and bought for its use-value, capital appropriates the difference. Capital appropriates and labor is expropriated.

In three royal, octavo volumes, Herr Marx works this out with mathematical precision. He approaches the question from every possible side, deductively, inductively, historically, analytically, synthetically. He amplifies, involves, digresses, always getting back to the expropriation point. He is wonderfully interesting and at times graphic, never rhetorical, but often eloquent, once prophetic. There is no Utopia in the writings of Karl Marx. Very little is offered in the way of remedy and no moral fault is found with the capitalist. It is a common mistake to assume that Socialism is opposed to capital *per se*, but Socialists want the title to capital to vest in the State and not in the individual.

Marx is very sparing of definitions. This passage comes the nearest to his definition of surplus-value, though he devotes over three hundred pages in a stretch to that subject:

“The capitalist who produces surplus-value,—*i. e.*, who extracts un-paid labor directly from the laborers, and fixes it in commodities, is the first appropriator but by no means the ultimate owner of this surplus-value. He has to share it with capital—

ists, with land-owners, &c., who fulfill other functions in the complex of social production. Surplus-value, therefore, splits up into various parts. Its fragments fall into various categories of persons and take various forms, independent the one of the other, such as profit, interest, merchants' profits, rent &c.” *

Marx bears heavily on social relations and delights in drawing fine distinctions where there are no real differences. I cite an instance which may have that appearance but which in reality is the key-note to his whole theory and so far as I know has not been developed by any other economist:

“If we now compare the two processes of producing value and of creating surplus-value, we see that the latter is nothing but the continuation of the former beyond a definite point. If on the one hand the process be carried to the point, where the value paid by the capitalist for the labor-power is re-placed by an exact equivalent, it is simply a process of producing value; if, on the other hand, it be continued beyond that point, it becomes a process of creating surplus-value.” †

The subtle process, then, of exploitation is no other than undue length of the work-day the excess of which appears in surplus-value, *first ex-*

**Capital* by Karl Marx, Vol. I, page 618.

†*Capital* by Karl Marx, Vol. I, page 618.

pressed in use-value, and *next* expressed in commodities, these commodities reappearing in money are apportioned to rent, profit, and interest. Labor power produces all the commodities but gets none of the rent, profit, or interest.

Marx has this to say specifically about rent:

"The peculiarity of ground-rent is rather that in proportion as the conditions develop, in which agricultural products develop as commodities, and in which they can realize their values, so does property in land develop the power to appropriate an increasing portion of these values, which are created without its assistance, and so does an increasing portion of the surplus-value assume the form of ground-rent." *

Marx lays down a similar doctrine with reference to interest and profit. In connection with what he calls the Trinitarian Formula this is said:

"Profit appears also in practice what it was un-denialy in theory, mere surplus-value, a value for which no equivalent is paid, realized un-paid labor. It was then seen that the investing capitalist really exploited labor, and the fruit of his exploitation, when he worked with borrowed capital, was divided into interest and profit of enterprise, a surplus profit over interest." †

**Capital* by Karl Marx, Vol. III, page 749.

†*Capital* by Karl Marx, Vol. III, page 458.

Running through socialist literature on surplus-value, is the catchy phrase: "A man is entitled to all he produces." But will Socialists stick to this doctrine? Let us see:

Suppose five Puebla Indians, each working on his own hook,—that is each Indian directing the work of his own hands,—makes five hundred sun-dried bricks a day. A miner happens along and conceives the idea of making molds and directing the work. The molds are his capital. He correlates the services of the men and directs one to dig the clay, another to pug, another to mold, another to off-bear, another to tend the drying-yard. The result is a thousand bricks per day per man and the product is better than the five hundred *adobes* made in the old Indian way. The work is lighter and pleasanter. The work-day is shorter. The miner, through the action of his mind applied to the action of other men's hands, has increased the output one hundred per cent. Now, will the Socialist concede these twenty-five hundred bricks to him? No.

Suppose further: The miner having discovered his power to direct and to correlate the work of other men's hands and ambitious to exercise this power, searches out a superior clay near a city. He starts a brick-yard; he invents and installs brick-making machines. His enterprise augments the demand for labor. Wages rises twenty-

five cents a day. The miner now becomes a Captain of Industry. He extends his work. He employs a superintendent. Finally the whole of his time is spent in an office. He wears good clothes. He is seldom seen. Quietly he works sixteen hours a day, directing and correlating the work of a thousand men. He anticipates demand; he finds markets; he meets competition; he finances; he studies credits; he adopts new methods; he economizes and reduces cost of production; he reduces the price of brick and increases the price of labor:—While his brick-makers are learning to direct the work of their own hands, this Captain of Industry is learning how to direct and correlate the work of *other* men's hands, and as his business expands the number of men he employs grows larger and larger. Instead of taking an instrument of labor out of their hands he has put one into their hands. At last he builds up a fortune. Again, will Socialists concede that he is entitled to all he produces? No.

Suppose again that reverses come on and the Captain of Industry loses money, prices decline, the markets break, bankruptcy follows, the property is swept away to pay mortgages, debts and wages; will Socialists concede that wage-earners should make good the loss? No.

And here it should be pointed out that in the first case only a small part of the surplus-value

created by this Captain of Industry went into his fortune,—the major part went for material, wages, and other expenses in a continuing business sharing the risks of a continuing business,—the money was finally dissipated in the community. The Captain of Industry by his enterprise, talent for directing other men's labor, and love of exercising power was first an accumulator of money, then a dissipator of money. He probably didn't consume any more wealth than many of his employes. This function of the enterprising, wealthy man seems not to be understood.

All in all, then, I am not inclined to deny the theory of surplus-value, but I insist that it is dissipated in the community and in most cases working-men get the greater part of it.*

But what has all this academic discussion to do with our subject? Everything.

Socialism conceives that value and surplus-value belong to the Social State, and through the State are to be apportioned among the workers. In the re-action against Utopia and the compulsory, industrial army depicted in *Looking Backward*, the New Socialists have re-

*But "Property is Robbery!" vociferated M. Proudhon with a far deeper insight into human society than Herr Marx ever showed. Inasmuch as Socialists do not accept Proudhon as authority, I do not feel called upon to meet this challenge to the present order in the present discussion. I will admit, however, that it opens an interesting field of discussion—one which I shall be glad to enter when the issue framed, makes it relevant. "Property exploits the weak while Socialism would exploit the strong" is all I need to quote from M. Proudhon whose eye was ever single to his peculiar views on "Equality."

ceded from the stern mandates of Herr Marx and waived the right of the State to inhibit private property and invade personal rights. Conceding the right to own private property carries with it the right to interest,—*validates interest*. Conceding the right to own real estate carries with it the right to collect rent,—*validates rent*. Marx concedes this in his illustration about the age of wine adding to the value of wine. By the strongest construction possible the component parts of surplus-value are rent, interest, and profits. But by waivers and concessions both rent and interest have been elided by the New Socialists, so that the only question left is whether the working-man is exploited by the way of profits. Formally stated it stands: Could the so-called working men manage the industries of the country more economically than the captains of industry? A collateral question, which must be met, is, who shall make good the losses in case there is no profit?

Happily there is no controversy with Socialists over the economy of trustification. It is a part of their contention that "The prime justification for the trust is, first, the necessity which produces it, and, secondly, the economies which it itself produces." And that the "prime cause for the formation of trusts is the decline in commercial profit." As a rule they agree with F. B.

Thurber in his report to the United States Export Association, wherein he says:

"The so-called 'trusts' generally tend toward economy in production and distribution, improved quality and lower prices for consumers and increased employment and better wages for labor."

In proof of which statement Mr. Thurber submits several tables of prices, transportation rates, etc. Socialists are perfectly consistent in this admission, insisting that if a union of corporations in a trust result in economy, per force a union of trusts in the State will result in greater economy. On this point let me quote a careful thinker and lucid writer:

"There is every reason to think that socialized capital would be far less productive than capital managed by private owners for private gain. The efficacy of the public servant is not to be compared to that of an employe of a private concern. The public service in general, with its red-tape and routine, its conservative and un-progressive spirit, its lack of enterprise and initiative, its slowness and sense of security, is in its very nature far less efficient than a large private corporation. Seligman says: 'Socialism, if ever realized in practice, would be the death-knell of economic advance and true social betterment.' " *

**Orthodox Socialism* : James Edward le Rossignol, 1907, page 136.

In a socialist speech in Chicago, June 5, 1910, Emil Seidel, mayor of Milwaukee, is quoted as saying that "monopolies are labor-saving devices and necessary."

This statement is very true in private business, but not true in public business. Senator Aldrich declares that the annual budget of the United States could be reduced \$300,000,000 if public business were done as economically as private business,—that is, a saving of nearly a million dollars a day.

The government pays \$17,000 a year more to print its postage stamps than it could get the work done by private contract.

In speaking of federal business, Hon. Leslie M. Shaw shows how a great deal of money could be saved under a system of contracts.

With rent and interest eliminated, I have thought for some time that the most vulnerable point of Socialism is what Socialists regard as their strongest, *viz.*, surplus-value. Right here is where economists ought to centralize their attacks upon the system. Profits apportioned among all the years in which they have been accumulating and then divided among all the people will be found to be much smaller per capita than at first supposed. Socialists now disclaim all desire to apportion this profit; then how explain the language of Marx: "Expropriate the

expropriators?" If not an equal division, then an unequal, which would be worse; but in view of the disclaimer we pass the matter of division.

In answer to all this it will not do to say that the Social State would have no such charges as rent, interest, insurance, losses, etc., to meet. The purchase and up-keep of industries require money, and national loans bear interest: To say that the fiat of the government will take the place of money is to fall back upon exploded doctrine,—one which Herr Marx never adopted and never sanctioned. He, unlike Proudhon, posits a sound money. In the chapter, *On Exchange*, Volume I, *Das Capital*, money is conceived to be a "Universal Equivalent." Following this very satisfactory conception of money, the writer says: "Money is a crystal formed of necessity in the course of exchange, whereby different products of labor may be equated to each other." * * * "Although gold and silver are not money by nature, money is, by nature, silver and gold,—this is shown by the fitness of the physical properties of these metals for the functions of money." These elementary statements show how such writers as Bellamy have missed the real meaning of Herr Marx whom they assume to expound. Now returning to the Social State:

Under the present system we see a large vol-

ume of small profits taking the place of a small volume of large profits, and the problem of diminishing returns is already attracting much attention.* Where is the warrant that Socialism could do better? If, however, a co-operative collectivity can go further in this direction than the present organization of industry, with its quick turn-overs, small profits, risks, and losses, *Socialists are free to demonstrate the fact in any county, in any state, in the Union*,—no law estops, no custom prevents. But this brings us right back to the experiment of Robert Owen, Louis Blanc, Charles Fourier, John Alexander Dowie, the Icarians, the Shakers, the Menonites, the Doukabors, the Brook Farm, and precisely as it brings us there, it brings us to failure,—failure without a single exception. Utopia, then, raises a warning finger; its watch-word is Beware!

But why did Utopia fail? It was under the leadership of great men. Circumstances favored and the times favored. Fortunately we have the reasons given by an enthusiastic adherent, Josiah Warren, a scion of that New England stock which made its name famous in the Revolutionary War:

“Personal liberty was at a discount, incentive to *sustained*, individual effort was

**The Vanishing Profit*, an address by Charles F. Beach, Jr.; also article in *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for August by Adolphe Landry,

lacking, and each was inclined to ascribe the faults of the system to the short-comings of his neighbors." *

Mr. Warren is speaking after two years personal experience in New Harmony, and what he says is the intuitive feeling of nine men out of ten. Socialists have never insisted upon high standards of morality and personal character. Their profoundest scholar and thinker, Karl Rodbertus, reflecting alone upon his German farm, tacitly admits this in his writings and as tacitly admits its weakness. This accounts for the fact that Rodbertus never got further than to formulate and elaborate the doctrine that Labor costs Labor and that Laborers are born to beget Laborers.

Emerson saw the same thing, hence he says: "I like best those strong and worthy persons who support the social order without hesitation or misgiving." Professorial Socialism and Socialists of the chair who lecture at the Rand School in New York, or in the *Parteischule* in Berlin, might do well to quote this saying of Emerson as well as that of his Owenite townsman, Mr. Warren.

Yielding to an inborn abhorrence of a compulsory, industrial army, the New Socialism makes concession to personal liberty. But this

**Josiah Warren*, by William Baile, 1906, page 6.

concession will not quiet criticism. Practical questions arise: How is the New Social State to perform its functions, so multiplied and manifold, without arbitrary power? Unless there be an industrial army, under the command of despotic officers, how are the workers to be assigned to their duties and the balance nicely adjusted among the various industries? Surely caprice and whim are not to control. Without a mathematical accounting vested in a supreme authority, how are the commodities to be distributed? Without an official bureau of styles, qualities, and fashions, how are the styles, qualities, and fashions of goods to be determined? Why will there be any rivalry to sell goods? any advertising? any window dressing? any display signs? any attractive lighting? any stores, except warehouses with narrow doors and windows and indifferent but polite clerks? Why will there be any commercial ambition? invention? discovery? rivalry? competition?

If it be true that all men want in order to refine their minds and enlighten their morals is food, clothing, and shelter, why are not soldiers the most humane, chaste, and intellectual of all classes?

If bodily comfort alone refines the senses, why do not rich men's sons such as Harry Thaw make the very best citizens? Why do not the nobility

in aristocratic governments monopolize all good works, lead off in scientific attainment, and become models for mankind to follow?

Whose influence is most inspiring to American youth, that of the proletarian, Governor Johnson of Minnesota, or that of a beautiful, satiated butterfly flitting between Lake Superior and the Florida coast?

How are similarities of mind, tastes, and characteristics, to be secured so there will be a combined perception? an agreement of purposes? "a concert of wills? a harmony of actions?"

I admit that an organization of humanity and industry "for the good of the whole community, whether practical or not, is a magnificent ideal." I admit that altruism enriches and ennobles,— "without social service, man would become a savage." And yet altruism has its limits. "If every man sacrificed his own happiness all would be unhappy," while, on the other hand, if every man made himself honorable all would be honorable. John Stuart Mill says:

"It is yet to be determined whether communist schemes are consistent with the development of human nature; those manifold un-likenesses, that diversity of tastes, and talents, and variety of intellectual views which not only form a great part of the interest in human nature, but by bringing intellects into stimulating collision and by pre-

senting to each innumerable notions that he would not have conceived of himself, are the mainspring of mental and moral progress."

In Campanella's *City of the Sun*, men are absorbed in collectivism. All peoples constitute one flock under one shepherd and he is the King of Spain. The dogs are charged to bring straying sheep into the fold and if any desist, to devour them on the spot.

In contrast with that, consider another picture drawn in a great tragedy: Well-to-do Ella Rentheim, dying of a life-love unrealized, says to John Gabriel Borkman, dying of a money-lust also unrealized: "You have taken from me my life-love. * * * You have robbed me of the joys and hopes of motherhood; you have robbed me of the sorrows and sufferings of motherhood. * * * I shall not leave behind one single human being who will remember me lovingly and mournfully as a son thinks of a mother he has lost; when I die the name of Rentheim dies with me; it is a torturing thought to be wiped out of existence,—even your very name. * * * You have murdered my soul and you have murdered your own soul!"

Of these, who sounded human nature the deeper and the truer, Campanella or Ibsen? And the working-man,—will he serve everybody better than somebody,—himself?

THE SAVING REMNANT INDICATED

The Bureau of the Census estimates that the census of 1910 will show a population of nearly 90,000,000 in continental United States, with a voting strength of 23,000,000. Over 8,000,000 of these voters are engaged in agricultural pursuits and over 4,000,000 of the rest own urban homes. These two classes forming a body of 12,000,000 voters may be set down as solidly opposed to Socialism.

Of the remaining 11,000,000 it is safe to say that one-half own some personal property. And who are the men who own this personal property? Precisely the men who have shared the surplus-value, for if there were no surplus-value there would be no progress. Let me cite: I can give the names and addresses of a score of Swedes in one county in Iowa who started to work on a railroad section at \$1.15 a day who now own live-stock, houses, and land in fee-simple, amounting in value to more than \$50,000 each. In the same county I can give the names and addresses of more than a hundred Germans who began as month hands and now own property to the value of more than \$50,000 each. Note how the retail fruit and vegetable trade of Chicago has passed into the hands of Greek peddlers and further note the names of the firms in South

Water street,—names of Italian wholesalers who began their business careers empty handed. I cite these cases to show how surplus-value has been apportioned down among the masses and not absorbed in its entirety by the Captains of Industry. It is just as reasonable to say that Labor has expropriated Capital as it is to say that Capital has expropriated Labor. The truth, however, is that both have shared in the division.

In support of the last statement a friend tells me that he can give the names and addresses of over a thousand workmen in one shop who have credits in Chicago savings-banks. A large number of the employes of the United States Steel Corporation own shares in the concern and it is not uncommon to find employes of the Illinois Central Railroad Company who are shareholders. I know a case in which one share of the Company's stock is owned by three boys who bought it with their joint earnings and savings.

Gallant Tom Watson graphically says in the February number of his 1910 magazine that the Negroes in this country own property in the aggregate amounting to \$300,000,000. Despised and starting with nothing:

“Had there been a grain of truth in the Karl Marx idea, the Negroes of the South

would not now be worth so many millions of dollars acquired since 1865."

Consider the farmers: * In 1874, there were 20,000 granges or lodges of the Patrons of Husbandry in the United States with dues to the National Grange of over \$300,000. (These figures are taken from *Simons's American Farmer*, a Socialist authority). The Grangers sought (1) to abolish the middle-man; (2) to establish supply-houses; (3) to regulate the railroads; (4) to control grain elevators and sell grain direct to millers. At one time two-thirds of the grain elevators in Iowa were in the hands of the Grangers. A mere remnant of the Grange exists to-day. Why? Because the Grange found that the middle-man fills a useful office and where he can be eliminated, the fierce rivalry in business ousts him. Note the growth of the mail-order houses, the 5-Cent and 10-Cent stores which are preparing the way for 25-Cent and 100-Cent stores, economies which, I regret to say, are making inroads upon the local dealer. But after the Grange came the Anti-Monopolists, the Farmers' Alliance, the Populists, the Knights of Labor, the Greenbackers,—all popular movements and all moving in the direction of Political Socialism: And all to-day extinct! Nobody is now

*See Plate II Special Census Report for 1904, showing per cent of farmers and men engaged in Manufacturing and Mechanical Pursuits.

asking that loans be advanced by the sub-treasury of the United States to farmers and planters on their crops of grain and cotton;—this socialist doctrine, like the rest, has fallen by the way-side.

A good half of the voters in this country are free-holders. It is safe to say they will never vote with a party which, on the defensive, is impelled to declare that it does not favor the expropriation of rents. A good half of the other half own some personal property and for the same reason applied to interest will not vote in favor of Socialism or socialistic measures.

But deeper than all this, underlying the fundamental propositions of Socialism, is the fact that its success would be a failure. In administrative success it would lead to a dreary, monotonous, uneventful, un-enterprising life:—Lack of interest is intolerable. Granting, then, everything possible to Political Socialism, construing it in the most liberal manner, conceding good motives to it, even accepting all its concessions and waivers to established order, we are compelled to conclude that it offers no panacea for social unrest or disorder.

Shall it be said, then, that Political Socialism has served no good purpose? that it ought to receive anathema of every good citizen? Not at all. Socialism has stimulated political thought

the results of which we see in a re-examination of the basis upon which our system of government rests. It has opened many a man's eyes to the danger of an invasion of personal and state rights. The truth is that as individual man brings himself under self-control and our civilization diffuses itself, we ought to move in the direction of less law and more individual freedom instead of more law and less individual freedom. Socialism has served to make this point of danger clear.

Socialism is inspired in extravagant optimism in the future. There is some good in that. However much or however little this good, it will finally, as a saving remnant, be incorporated into the policies of other parties and there go on to its perfect work even as the practical features of the old Grange movement were finally absorbed into other and more rational programmes.

And here is danger,—the danger of yielding too much to the demand for legislation. Everywhere the spirit is rampant of seeking remedies in law rather than in building up character and self-dependence. The tendency is to lay blame for failure on somebody else,—on government or society. This tendency is deplorably weakening. But action re-acts. Hence we have a healthful movement spontaneously arising out of a multiplicity of state law, to repeal and simplify

and harmonize by an identity of state law. Witness the late convention of state governors and proceedings of the National Civic Federation.

It may justly be said by Anti-Socialists that I have no right to take for granted that the waivers and concessions of the New Socialists are made in good faith,—that these are only the sharp, shrewd, tactical maneuvers of practical politicians,—that the socialist movement should be attacked without gloves and without qualification. Even so, but my present purpose is mainly to show that in admitting the failure of Utopia, the New Socialism, without qualification, destroys its own foundation and admits its own defeat. In doing this I yield none of the ground occupied by Anti-Socialists *per se*.

It should not escape the reader that I am here dealing with principles and not with mere numbers. As matter of fact Socialism is growing in all the first class nations: Witness the recent election of Emil Seidel as mayor of Milwaukee and with him a socialist council.

CHAPTER III.

**POLITICAL SOCIALISM,—SHALL IT BE
PUT UPON THE DEFENSE?
HOW? WHY?**

**THE FARMER AGAINST SOCIALISM.—THE HOME-OWNER
AGAINST SOCIALISM.—LABOR-UNIONS IN PART AGAINST
SOCIALISM.—STRONG SENSE OF PROPRIETORSHIP.—SOCIAL-
ISM OF THE CHAIR HAS NO SYMPATHY FOR THE CAP-
TAIN OF INDUSTRY AND THE SCHOOL OF HARD-KNOCKS;
IT WOULD SUFFER MOST IN CATACLYSM OF ITS OWN
MAKING.**

What chance of success, in this country, has Political Socialism? None whatever. This question ought to be raised in all seriousness and answered in all confidence. The answer above is the natural one. By that I mean that it is the answer of logic, good sense, and natural conditions. However, this answer pre-supposes that Socialism shall be put upon the defensive. Default is dangerous.

The most casual observer cannot fail to notice that our literature; colleges; churches; universities; newspapers; magazines; humanitarian and reform associations; women's clubs; and a good one-half of the un-organized, so-called apostles of brotherly love, are tinctured, yea, saturated through and through, with a soft,

sweet, optimistic form of the socialist movement. This singular aspect of social affairs very naturally and very properly raises a collateral inquiry: What harm can all these sentimental, altruistic, well-intentioned people do?

In contrasting dynamic Socialism with its passive form, a little further on, I shall take up this collateral question and try to show wherein the danger lies. With the observation that, so far, our practical politics, as reflected in congress and state legislation, has happily escaped an open alliance with Socialism, though the recent election of Mr. Berger to Congress from a Wisconsin district and the Reading and Milwaukee elections clearly show that city governments may pass into the hands of Socialists, I proceed to indicate how the socialistic movement may be put upon its defense,—that means its defeat.

THE FARMER AGAINST SOCIALISM

Not counting a play upon some of its fantastic features, I have said that, so far, our practical politics, as reflected in federal and state legislation, has escaped an open alliance with Socialism. So much cannot be said of our municipal politics. This circumstance shows that the rural population is not come under the influence of the movement. So much could not be said fifteen years ago. The fiat money scheme of that time

was purely socialistic. The sub-treasury scheme of government-advances on crops of grain and cotton was likewise socialistic. The Patrons of Husbandry, the Farmers' Alliance, the Green-backers, the Populists, all advocated measures, in a way, socialistic. (Later and closer study has shown that these policies had a European and a historic, revolutionary origin.) To-day these movements are practically extinct.

Thus it is easily seen that self-acting causes have largely expunged socialistic principles from among the farmers. Now this ground ought to be held intact by Anti-Socialists,—it is the natural base of operations against a militant Socialism.

“Why?” Because the farmer has a high respect for property. Coupled with this high respect for property is a strong sense of proprietorship. When awakened, this sense of proprietorship (a fact utterly ignored by the High-thought Fabian Society of England) comes near being a ruling motive in men’s minds. It is not necessary to go to the farms for it but there it may be seen in its best and highest form.*

*This is noticeable even in country children. Many a time little boys left in my office for safekeeping while their parents were out trading, have told me about their pigs, calves and sheep as though the well-being of the whole farm-yard depended upon them. I have seen the eyes of little girls pop out wide as they told me about “their” little chickens, and the wicked excursions of a predatory weasel seemed to take hold of them as a personal loss. Many a country editor has storied-up these childish narratives with great success.

Now this sense and motive of proprietorship, overlooked by the High-thoughtists, give a fixity to character; they develop purpose and determination; they give direction and stability; they cultivate the family instinct and promote family relations. Perchance, after a tax upon large testamentary properties, farmers will resist to the utmost any and all attacks upon the laws of inheritance.

There is, too, a re-inforcing reason why the farmer will not take kindly to Socialism,—that is his hard training toward the practical side of all worth-while affairs. He realizes that in our country is an immense territory cut up into farms both great and small. A certain portion of the work on these farms is light and agreeable but another certain portion is heavy, urgent, and disagreeable.

The farmer knows that for the State to confiscate the land and undertake to run these farms would mean ruin,—not only ruin to the State but to the real-estate as well. He knows that for labor-checks, hands are not going to work twelve, fourteen, and sixteen hours a day; and he knows that there isn't one town-man in ten who can run a farm and make it pay. With live-stock, especially at folding-time, to be managed; with crops, just on the turn, to be cut and garnered quickly; with seeds, at just the right time, to be

selected and saved; with intricate machines to be handled; with fences to be watched; with a make-ready for storms always in hand, farmers know that this whole theory of socializing land,—condemning rents as the Marxites propose, is no less Utopian now than it was in the days of Robert Owen, yea, more so, because farm-management is more highly evolved and more difficult than it was when New Harmony failed.

To the practical mind of the farmer, the land-scheme of the Socialist seems little short of ridiculous. He knows that of bosses and straw-bosses, of superintendents and managers, of secretaries of agriculture and chiefs of bureaus, of captains, colonels, generals, and generalissimos,—it would take as many as there would be privates, to apportion the men and to keep them at work,—and then such work done under a policeman's club, with no more interest in results than have those men in fantastic garb whose victuals are pushed to them through square holes in an iron door,—a dog-watch on dry land.

"Hold," cries a high-sheriff of the socialistic State, "that's antiquated doctrine. We have repudiated Karl Kautsky and Karl Rodbertus. We have set aside Karl Marx's three hundred pages of argument on surplus-value and its largest component, rent. We are not going to

confiscate your land. Keep it. *We'll only take the crops!*

If the high-sheriff is right what becomes of the cry for "Opportunity?" Opportunity to get to the land? to the mines? to the instruments of labor? to the means of production?—The truth is that Political Socialism must stick to Philosophic Socialism. It must stick to the dogmas of Marx and Rodbertus or it disintegrates as in the hands of Wells and Spargo and falls to pieces of its own accord. As I tried to show in a previous article, if its concessions and waivers to the present order be made and taken in good faith, they cut the very ground from under it. It destroys itself. "Suicide is confession."

In his last book, *The Substance of Socialism*, Mr. Spargo has such a care lest he offend, that his work amounts to a defense of established order,—he dilutes in order to strengthen.

But now come Arthur M. Lewis, William Morris, Mr. Hyndman, *et al* protesting against the waivers and concessions of Sir Oliver Lodge, Sidney Webb, Mr. Shaw *et al*,—"You must reckon with us," they say, "we are the genuine, evolutionary, industrial Socialism with a political programme. We Marxites are not dilutionists with mythical views, mythical objects, and mythical programmes;—we represent the living, driving, organic, dynamic force of the true doc-

trine." There is some truth in this and the socialist question is not fully dealt with, leaving them out. I shall not fail to consider that phase of the matter.

These Marxites, however, only make it the less difficult to combine the eight million farm voters in this country against socialist measures. These farmers make a nucleus of a good one-third of the voters to begin with and in addition a large number of town and city people who either own lands or have an expectancy in the titles to lands. Besides there is another very considerable element whose sympathies cannot be divorced from the farm.

Socialists themselves realize this fact. At the Socialist Congress held in Chicago, May 21, 1910, Victor L. Berger said:

"If we don't have the farmers, we can't have Socialism in this country. If you try to take the land away from 12,000,000 farmers you'll have a job on your hands; you might as well try to reach down the moon."

At the same congress, A. M. Simons said:

"You cannot succeed without the farmers any more than you can change the orbit of the comet."

So the "Farmer Question" was deferred, the committee enlarged and ordered to report in

1912. All this means, also, that the day is not far distant when the New Englander who used to sneer at the Granger of the West will be exceedingly glad to accept and to acknowledge the conserving influence and support of the erstwhile Granger.

In short, as long as the helm of the Ship of State is in the hard, firm grip of the farmer and his hard, clear but perhaps stubborn head is helping to guide the vessel, there need be little fear that State Socialism will get control of the "means of production, exchange, and distribution."

Of course I am not un-aware that by talking palliatives and a progressive policy, Socialists claim to have made inroads in rural districts especially among the prune-growers of Oregon. But I never heard one of those prune-growers after he had learned what the full programme meant and after the policy of "Activity" had been expounded to him, more especially by female agitators, stand his ground as a Socialist,—not one. Neither did I ever hear a practical farmer endorse the doctrine after he came to see it in all its phases,—not one.

Hence it may be safely concluded that all the farmer needs is information. And, that there may be no reasonable ground for doubt or dispute, I suggest that this information be taken

from socialistic sources.—Is it not safe to conclude, then, that the farmer may be counted upon to aid enthusiastically in driving State Socialism back upon itself and into a position of self-defense?

HOME-OWNERS AGAINST SOCIALISM

Four million voters in the United States own homes in cities and towns. On all hands it is allowed that the home-maker and the home-owner is a loyal friend to that institution known as the Family. Moreover, he recognizes sovereignty. He respects authority. He believes in government. He upholds law. These urban and village home-owners will consolidate to a man against revolutionary Socialism.

Let me cite a circumstance which shows how State Socialism, in success, would run counter to men of substance and affairs. This circumstance, at the same time, shows how deeply the appetite to manage property and how natural the desire to enjoy the private liberties which go with and are a part of home-ownership are implanted in the human breast:

The town of Pullman, twelve miles from Chisago, was founded in 1880. It was laid out and built by the Pullman Palace Car Company. This company bought four thousand acres of land

and spent a million dollars on the tract before a house was to be seen on it. The land was graded, drained and sewered, and piped for filtered water and illuminating gas. It was made sanitary by the best engineering skill procurable. Landscape gardens were laid out on the grounds with wide drive-ways, broad walks, meandering lawns, and an artificial lake. Trees were set out. Flower-beds and grass-plots were planted and embroidered with foliage-plants. A clock-tower was installed, likewise a water-tower, and a band-stand where free concerts were given once a week. Vista Lake, a sheet of water more than three acres in extent, was outfitted for boating, swimming and winter-sports. At one time Arcade Park and Vista Lake were famous pleasure-grounds and Arcade Theater ranked as the very best found in sub-urban places. Pullman became known as the *City of Brick*. The houses were some 2-story and some 3-story. The tenants were provided with every convenience for heating, lighting, laundering, cooking, and so forth. Flats of two rooms rented for from \$5.00 a month to \$10.00 a month. Flats of four rooms rented for from \$11.00 a month to \$14.00 a month. This *City of Brick* had a magnificent hotel, a free gymnasium, a free library, and a free reading-room. It had its own school and a large green-stone church. The dwellings

were near the Pullman shops in which most of the tenants worked.*

Could Socialism do more?

Six years after Pullman was founded, I spent a day in the place.

I soon discovered, especially among the German cabinet-makers, that all was not satisfactory. The workmen reluctantly told me that on the start their families were delighted but of late many of them were becoming dissatisfied. I pressed a Swiss wood-carver who was getting five dollars a day to go into particulars:

"Vell,—yuh see ate ees dthese vay,—mine vife, she liket to raise some schickens."

"Yes, but there's no profit raising chickens in the city is there?"

"Vell,—I not can tell 'bout dhot,—but mine vife,—she liket to fool mit 'em any how."

"Oh,—but how about you?"

"Vell sir,—I not can object to see'n dthose leetle fel-ers runnen 'roun mysel-lf.—A schicken in dhe pot ees a fur-rst rate dding fur-r Sunday any-how,—I thol yuh dhot." * * *

The question now comes how did this Pullman experiment turn out?

*For further facts relating to Pullman, the reader is referred to the report of Commissioners of State Labor Bureaus signed by Carroll D. Wright and others in which, after citing a number of industrial towns in this country and Europe including the enterprise of Herr Krupp at Essen, the Commission say: "Pullman stands at the head."

After a while the tenants began to tire of the formality and sameness of the place. They began to long for the exercise of the sense of proprietorship. They began to buy houses in the neighborhood and move out of Pullman. All kinds of trivial complaints were set on foot. One of the worst strikes known in the history of the country came on. The social arrangements of this ideally equipped and appointed city did not and could not satisfy. Six years after, I again visited the place and found that the divisional lines between Pullman and Chicago had been wiped out and the place was fast merging itself into the great city,—as a municipal entity, it was gone and many of its socialistic features were pronounced a failure. Upton Sinclair knew of Pullman, yet he preferred to place his Jurgis in the slums and it may be pertinent to ask whether the *House Helicon* was any nearer a success than the *Town Pullman*.

On my second visit, I hunted up the Swiss wood-carver and found him contented in a house of his own though the conveniences fell far short of those in the *City of Brick*. While we were talking, his wife came in, clad in an old dress, and an older sun-bonnet. She had been out on the common, digging in the earth with an old case-knife, and filling a half-dozen old peach-cans with black dirt. In these she could grow little gera-

niums, pinks, and roses. The beautiful gardens in Pullman were outside of herself. The little pink in the peach-can, weakling though it might be, was something she could tend, water, and fuss with. It was a part of herself,—the product of her own care, forethought, and toil. It was something she could love. It stirred the emotions in her heart and the aspirations in her brain,—the best feelings God had given her,—it helped to satisfy the sense of proprietorship.

So the dream of George M. Pullman, his City Beautiful,—a Working Man's *Champs Elysees*,—with its twelve thousand inhabitants, was swallowed up in the great, common city of Chicago.

And right here an important corollary is to be noted, *viz*: That one of the most effective ways to put Socialism on the defensive is to encourage home-building. The history of the movement, in other countries, shows that peasant ownership of land, chattels, and houses, is what it fears most. As home-ownership increases, agitation decreases. Hence, there is little need to add that the home-owner may be counted upon to aid powerfully in putting State Socialism on the defensive and out of existence.

LABOR UNIONS, IN PART, AGAINST SOCIALISM

In an article recently published under the title, *Two Irreconcilable Foes*, &c., Ralph M. Easley shows how what he calls "the revolutionary socialistic body," is the "vindictive, unrelenting enemy of organized labor." He says:

"Socialists oppose Labor Unions because they are securing shorter hours, better wages, and better conditions for working-men, achievements which are fatal to socialistic philosophy and its desire to make things worse as fast as possible in order to pave the way for the Social revolution."*

Mr. Easley then goes on to cite case after case in which Socialists attack the leaders of organized labor. Now these cases comport exactly with what I shall say further on. They add piquancy to the fact, oftentimes overlooked, that Socialist-leaders, in many places both in Europe and this country, are seeking to control the Unions for the identical purpose of promoting that "Socialist-revolution." The question, then, is: Will the Unions lend themselves to promoting and realizing this purpose?

Not entirely.

I am free to say that that answer is returned

**National Civic Federation Review*, 1909 November number.

by a layman and not by one having authority but it is supported for two reasons:

First, the Unions are under strong leadership. These leaders know that without good returns to capital, good wages is impossible.

Contrawise, Socialist-leaders contend that good returns are exploited out of labor by way of surplus-value. Hence they are forced to maintain that the greater the returns the greater the exploitation and the less the wages. Labor-leaders know that profits inspire enterprise and that without enterprise, the labor-market would be emasculated. Wages depends upon Supply and Demand and enterprise creates the demand. These labor-leaders know also that to make the Rich poor will not make the Poor rich.

Contrawise, Socialist-leaders are forced to maintain that a down-pull of enterprise would be an up-lift of un-enterprise.

Second, labor-leaders are surely cognizant of the fact that socialistic influences have hurt their organizations. Not a strike of more than local consequence may be called to mind but what large numbers of irresponsible tramps, hoboes, outlaws, renegades, and desperadoes at once flocked to the scene. The violence which these mutinous characters and intentionally un-employed precipitate with black-jack, paving-stones, sling-shots, bricks, dirks, and revolvers,

enrage the public and in part, at least, bring the Unions and their cause into disrepute. That was true in case of the Pittsburg riots, in 1877, when the Union station was burned and when long strings of freight-cars were rushed, forced, and burglarized. It was the case, in 1886, when the long agitation in Chicago for an 8-hour day resulted in the Hay-market riots. It was the case in the Pullman strike, in 1894, when cars were turned over, set fire to, looted, and burned,—when blood-shed in the railroad yard at Hammond was charged up to the strikers.

Of course, nice old ladies in silk gowns, and becoming slippers who meet in drawing-room clubs and discuss a soft, sweet, socialistic method of solving the servant question and of getting their dishes washed by a State bureau of Dish-washers and of having their cakes and bakers'-bread delivered by another State bureau, would not sanction these red-handed proceedings,—but once abetting how can they prevent?

Of course these nice, old ladies condemn but in that they are not good Socialists, for, not a Socialist-leader in this country or in the Old country condemns. Why? Because Socialist-leaders fancy that these outbreaks,—this taste for blood,—“paves the way to the Social revolution.” And because the facts are that many, very many, of the floating, bad and dangerous men who

hasten to the scene of the strikes are Socialists, they are Socialists *per se*.

A *third* reason might be assigned which somehow, a moment back, was overlooked: Socialists demand equal recognition for both sexes, all nations, tribes, colors, tongues, and kindreds. Karl Marx was founder of the *International* Working-man's Association. This policy could end only in putting the American mechanic and the American laborer on a level with the Japanese mechanic and the Chinese coolie,—a thing which, in self-defense, the Unions have resisted from the very first and which they will keep on resisting to the very last. The recent socialist Congress at Chicago came near splitting on the question of immigration. John Spargo of the committee presented a minority report and the debate lasted four days. Finally a resolution offered by Morris Hillquit of New York, straddling the question, was adopted. This act indicates another concession to established order.

The logic of the situation, then, leads to the belief that the Unions could not solidify their organizations to carry out the programme of the Socialists. Many Unionists, especially the skilled men, have savings laid away in banks and trust companies, others own shares of stock in the companies for which they work, and still others have life-insurance policies carried, per-

haps, for years,—so that they have a prime, personal interest in maintaining order and in resisting the “Social revolution.” It will not be surprising if some of the strongest enemies to the socialist State, which the future may develop, shall be members of the Unions of organized labor.

A second corollary which here may be pointed out is that it would seem to be good policy for corporations to encourage the purchase of stock by their men and then to make the holding of this stock as easy as possible.

PROFESSORIAL SOCIALISM AND THE SCHOOL OF HARD-KNOCKS

What, if anything, may be done to check the spread of Socialism in and through and by our churches, schools, and colleges?

Very little, I fear.

Just as long as men allow their reasoning powers to be dominated by their feelings, just so long will Socialism-of-the-Chair have influence. When the professors are confronted with a cataclysm, as they will be, somewhere and somehow, then conditions will change. This Professorial Socialism does not aim to be revolutionary. I hold, however, that it may be met logically and philosophically, on its own ground. Without going into the complicated system of nerve-im-

pressions and motory reactions which it involves, let me see, in a few words, if I can indicate what I mean?

The professors tell us that there is a New Psychology or rather a new psycho-physical view of the mind in which the old notion of simple, mental faculties is sent to the limbo of discarded things. By a process of laboratory experiments, the investigators claim to have discovered that all mental activities are accompanied by brain activities ; that mental states have parallel brain states ; that all the contents of the mind,—perceptives, emotions, memories, imaginations, *et cetera*,—have parallel states in the brain ; and that there are two sets of these parallel, accompanying states. One set emanates in the mind, they are the purpose-states. The other set emanates in the brain, they are the causal-states.

Now, the purpose-states are the higher part of a man's mental endowment,—the will, the emotions, the moral sense ; it is the free part and cannot be formulated or conceived of as cause-and-effect. It is a law unto itself.

The operations of the causal-part may be conceived as a procession passing by, formulated and understood by well defined laws of cause-and-effect. Such is a brain-state caused by the action of light, sound, cold, heat, pleasure, pain, touch, muscular sense and the like.

Now, in the interplay of brain and mental activities, the Socialist has little regard for any but the causal. In effect he takes advantage of the causal-part of the mind to ignore the purpose-part. He would force the higher part of us mentally down into the lower part. Such a view of life makes us mechanical, empty, trivial, with little aspiration and no inspiration,—slaves to outside forces, the mere effects of outside causes.

This view is perfectly consistent with the Economic Interpretation of History,—it is Marxian and Comteian combined. How can it be otherwise with the accent of life laid upon the material? Eat and drink, to-morrow we die. But we are now treating of the professors.—And verily, Good Masters, this is a moral universe, ruled by moral law; “as a man sows that shall he also reap:” If he play the horses, or the markets, or fail in business judgment, or fall in the face of temptation,—the blame is not on Society, on him. Society is made by men, not men by Society. Jehova made this world, “not the Devil.” Why, I know men who, but a few years ago, got into Chicago, dear knows how, whose capital was two English words and just money enough to borrow a wheel-barrow. They mortgaged their equity in the wheel-barrow to buy a bushel of bananas,—to-day their names are written in the gold-leaf signs of whole-

sale firms in South Water street. Society didn't write those names in gold and it couldn't write them off if it wanted to. Truth to be told, this is a moral universe. "As a man sows that shall he also reap."

Such are the contradictions which arise when the reason gives way to the feelings,—the main thing which a college education is supposed to forestall. But preaching aside.

Primarily, the professor has no sympathy for the Captain of Industry,—a man who generally receives his education in the School of Hard-Knocks,—therefore, I see no way to check the spread of Professorial Socialism. I know that at the first positive sign of a cataclysm, it will try to un-do the mischief it has done, with what prospect of success, I shall indicate in the next chapter.

Notes: In the *LaMonte-Mencke Debate*, New York, 1910, effort is made to discredit the Natural Selection of Darwin, including evolution in the germ and to return to the theory of cataclysm, thus sanctioning revolutionary Socialism: "Belief is based upon desire and desire is based upon economic conditions;" cataclysm is seen to be desired.

How Socialists have been forced to change their views in the last ten years is amply set out in *The New Socialism &c.*, by Jane T. Stoddart, London, 1910; "The practical aim is to secure the ownership of the means of production for the community and the means of consumption for the individual." As the latter grows out of the former the aim is as chimerical as to try to reform Society without taking the trouble first to reform the individual. Spargo's doctrine of socializing private property only which may be the means of exploitation, is far more plausible.

The papal encyclical of Leo XIII. *On Labor* should be read by every earnest student of current economics.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL SOCIALISM.—WHAT DO NON-SOCIALISTS SAY OF IT?

A REVIEW OF THE STRENGTH, ORGANIZATION AND INFLUENCE OF GERMAN SOCIALISM, FRENCH SOCIALISM, BRITISH AND AMERICAN SOCIALISM.—NOMENCLATURE REVOLUTIONARY.—RED FLAG, THE EMBLEM OF BLOOD.—SOCIALISM FLOURISHES ONLY IN RICH COUNTRIES, THIS STRANGE FACT ACCOUNTED FOR.—AMBITION AND APPETITE.—REVOLUTIONARY ORIGIN.—PLAYING WITH REVOLUTIONARY FIRE.—THE BROKEN WINE CASK.—PASSION FOR BLOOD, ONE THOUSAND BURIED IN A SINGLE GRAVE.—MEETING OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS DESCRIBED.—LIGHTS PUT OUT.—CONCLUSION.

Thus far, I have treated Socialism, if not from a non-partisan standpoint, certainly in a non-partisan spirit. I have cited more socialist authority, three to one, than I have cited non-socialist authority, and I am conscious of no disposition to misrepresent. But I now propose to summarize hastily the argument from a partisan standpoint,—that of a Non-Socialist. For this purpose, it will be best to arrange the review under different heads:

1. How are we to account for the almost universal prevalence, in the richest countries, of the socialist movement? The working-class in every nation in Europe, from rim to center, is

honey-combed with it. In the German Empire it has an enrolled membership of 600,000 members who pay assessments into the central treasury. Its annual income is nearly \$300,000 and of this it puts over \$100,000 into its reserve fund. This reserve fund is secret, kept in secret archives, and is supposed to amount to millions of dollars. There are seventy daily socialist newspapers in Germany with over a million subscribers and an organized propaganda is constantly issuing books, tracts, pamphlets, and statistical reports. It maintains a school in Berlin with six professors. It keeps traveling organizers and lecturers in the field. It controls close to three million votes and has fifty-four seats in the Reichstag of whom Herr Bebel is one of the ablest debaters in that parliament. Its programme hitherto has been one of intransigence, lately, however, it seems to be making alliances; and the Opportunists or Revisionists bid fair to control the party's methods.

In England there are six socialist parties ready at the touch of a match to co-operate and coalesce. The total voting strength is difficult to arrive at on account of its blending with the labor vote, perhaps near half a million. Socialists have eight seats in the royal parliament and close affiliations with the Labor members. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, David Lloyd-

George, is practically regarded as a Socialist. The Fabian Society, closely allied with the Liberals, is made up mostly of Intellectuals many of whom like H. G. Wells, Sidney Webb, G. Bernard Shaw, Graham Wallis, and Sir Oliver Lodge are conceded to be men of a high order of intelligence and character. The Socialists of England pay more than half a million dollars annually into the treasuries of their "branches," parties, and societies while they raise another half million for incidental expenses. Their propaganda reaches from the soap-box orator in Trafalgar Square to the dilettante in court circles.

France has a Socialist in her cabinet, a large number of socialist members in her Chamber of Deputies, and several city governments in control of the communes. Collectivist communes.

The voting strength of Socialists in the United States is not far from 800,000 and the propaganda keeps up a constant agitation through its 3,200 "branches" or "locals" with 50,000 paying members; through its newspaper press, traveling organizers, lecturers, pamphlets, books, conventions, congresses, debates, and other forms of controversial growth. It has a school in New York City endowed by Mrs. Rand formerly of Burlington, Iowa, heiress of a fortune made in what is called by the Socialists, the Lumber Trust. Some of the most active and enthusiastic

propagandists are women. Just now, Socialists in this country are centering their fight on the federal constitution and the courts. The Fourteenth Amendment and the Dartmouth College Case seem to arouse their special enmity and they bitterly attack the early fathers of the republic claiming that "property was preferred to persons." Its organization reaches into forty-two states.

On the Continent, Socialism primarily aims to control the communes. In England, the fight is made to shape legislation in the municipalities. The London County Council is so far under socialist influence that while annual taxes have increased £100,000,000, sterling, the debt of the city has increased £400,000,000, sterling,—the same spirit was noted in Kansas in populist days when bills were introduced in that state's legislature appropriating more than money enough to pay the national debt, and the Milwaukee Socialists ask the loan of a million. The situation, just now, is very interesting because the Liberal Party is charged with being in sympathy with the Fabians and other societies,—much of the stress in the recent campaign was due to that alieged influence.

Everywhere, Socialists greet each other as "Comrades" (or in equivalent terms) and everywhere, they seek to solidify those who have no

property, in the Class-War, against those who have property. The New Social State is their final object and a Social Democracy is to be the means of realizing this State. Up with the Class-War and down with Surplus-value is their war-cry.

2. Everywhere, the nomenclature of Socialism is revolutionary, showing its common origin.* Everywhere, the Red Flag is the party emblem, showing that this common origin has still a common significance,—the Red Flag is the emblem of human blood. Everywhere the *Marseillaise* is its revolutionary war-song, perverting a noble expression for liberty into an expression for expropriation.

3. How shall we account for this so nearly universal movement? How account for its common motive and common emblem? its common watchwords and common revolutionary song? Its common dialect and other means of expression? Other political parties and movements are national. This one is international. The Tory party of England has no influence in France, neither has the Bourbon party of France any influence in this country. But the Socialists

*A few of these revolutionary words follow: equalitarian, authoritarian, revolutionnaire, proletaire, bourgeoisie, expropriate, exploit, militairiste, quatre-vingt-treize, communiste, intellectual, industrial, &c.

Among words which have become affiliated with these may be noted: laboriste, confiscationiste, pacificiste, compensationiste, parliamentairiste, intransigence, Red Republican, Red Cap, Red Flag, municipaliste, Class-War, possibiliste, opportuniste, progressiviste, revisioniste, professionaliste, syndicalism, commandeer, collectivity.

are influential in all three, they permeate all the *richest* and most civilized nations to the very depths.—Great political movements have a cause, a motive, a driving, organizing force. They are not born out of nothingness,—they are not meaningless.—We must look, then, into human passion for this motive of Socialism,—at once, we find it,—Ambition and Appetite. Hence, we find the *geist* of the movement fifty years before the word *Socialism* is known.

The appetite here considered is the appetite for property. Its appeal is based upon the assumption that men who have property have obtained it by despoiling the poor. The imagination is aroused and passion inflamed. Men become frenzied under the impression that they have been wronged. Some become wild, fanatical, desperate. Others espouse Socialism like a new religion; they become resigned, possessing themselves of the happy idea of a New Social State wherein Big Tom is to be pulled down and Little Harry pushed up, until all are Dicks.

The property class is not understood by the propertyless class. The fact is that the first is chiefly engaged in accumulating property so that it may be disbursed in wages, expenses, and other forms. It finds its way back into the channels of business. I know a man worth a

million who doesn't consume as much as his neighbor worth a hundred.

No people ever advanced in science, art, philosophy, humanitarianism, enlightenment until it had some reserves in its wealth,—until it had what the poor regard as a leisure-class, though this supposed leisure-class may be engaged more hours daily in hard work than the proletarian. Only yesterday, I heard a man who serves as watchman in an automobile-shop curse the owner as the latter rode by. Suppose, now that business reverses close that shop, how much better off will the watchman be? In searching, then, for the organic, driving power of Socialism, we find it in the fusion of Ambition and Appetite,—the Appetite for Property. An appetite which Socialism excites, but does not appease: Socialism does not understand itself.

4. Very naturally the next inquiry must be, Does history bear out this contention and this doctrine? Let us see:

However impractical, theoretical, and oratorical may have been the Girondists of the French Revolution, I cannot help but regard them as among the most brilliant and patriotic men who ever lived. Their purpose, that of limiting the Bourbon dynasty with a constitution, was a noble purpose. The downfall of the Bastile was a splendid culmination of that great political move-

ment. But unconsciously and unwittingly this political revolution ignited the fires of an economic revolution.

Some of the Girondist leaders unwittingly and unconsciously played with the fires of this other revolution,—of a sudden it burst forth and all Paris was enveloped. Mirabeau had gently played with this revolutionary fire, he saw it getting beyond his control and fever-stricken he passed away. The fire passed on to Danton.

Danton played with this revolutionary fire till it got beyond his control and his head was sheared away by the guillotine. Before this, he had passed the fire on to Hebert.

Hebert played with the revolutionary fire till it got beyond his control and his head was sheared away by the same guillotine. The fire passed on to Robespierre.

Robespierre played with the same revolutionary fire till it got beyond his control and his head was likewise sheared away by the same guillotine.

Within a hundred feet of where Lafayette lies buried in the cemetery of the Picpus are the bodies in one grave of over a thousand victims of the French revolution. Louis, the Much Beloved; Marie Antionette, whose last noble words were, "I shall not answer such a question put to a Mother;" Madame Roland whose life went out

as she said: "O Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name,"—in all twenty-six hundred were put to the sword and the guillotine and a hundred millions' worth of property destroyed. Then came Napoleon and quenched this revolutionary fire with an iron-fist,—the revolution went out in a worse despotism than that under which it came in: *Danton could have quenched that revolutionary fire, had he not played with it.* In that revolution the Red Flag was first carried; the *Marseillaise* was first sung; the *Carmagnole* first danced; the title, *Citoyen*, first addressed to men; the words, Bourgeoisie, Proletaire, and expropriate first came into use.

Now, who were the classes who overrode the political aspirations of the French Revolution and converted it into the Reign of Terror of 1793,—*quatre-vingt-treize*,—words dear to all socialist hearts? It was the Proletariate. It was the spirit of Dynamic Socialism,—Ambition and Appetite fused together. It was the spirit of expropriation apotheosized by Karl Marx and Karl Kautsky.

In his *Tale of Two Cities*, Charles Dickens gives a remarkable description of this proletarian spirit as it was aroused in the dance of the *Carmagnole* and he describes its personal characteristics in the scene where a wine-barrel rolls from a cart, bursting a stave and instantly from the

cellars, garrets, and hidden places swarmed the Proletaire and stopped not till every drop of the spilled wine was licked up from the paving-stones.

There is now going the rounds of the 5-cent theater-shows a wonderful motion-picture of the guillotining of Charlotte Corday,—the revolutionary scene of the Committee of Safety should be witnessed by every American who thinks there is no danger in men's appetites.

But Danton could have quenched that fire, so could have the King, so the law-abiding and law-loving people in this country can quench it if they do not play with it.

In the insurrectionary outbreak of 1848, the proletarian movement,—spirit unbroken,—boldly assumed the name of, Socialism, and under the leadership of Louis Blanc forced the government to open National Workshops. As we have seen, these, failed. Then came open blood-shed. Socialists fought under the Red Flag and at one time demanded that it be made the national color, taking the place of the Tri-color. In the final collision ten thousand men were either killed or wounded but Socialism was defeated and public order again restored. The Insurrection of 1848 demonstrated that Socialism is at least a Pan-European movement, ready to break out whenever and wherever the Proletariate sees a chance to despoil the Bourgeoise of its property.

The next violent struggle of the Proletariate was in 1871. In speaking of this insurrection, W. Lawler Wilson, who has given great attention to what Mr. Spargo calls the *geist* of Socialism, says:

“The Communist movement in Paris was in direct line of descent from the Commune of 1793. From the Red Republicanism of the Reign of Terror down, it had retained its original power over the Proletariate and naturally so, because it was their own. The pike and Red caps of 1793 (*quatre-vingt-treize*); the pikes of 1830; the Red flags unsuccessfully raised in 1848; the Red Flag temporarily triumphant in 1871 these are the symbols at once of the continuity and evolution of the movement.” * * * “In principle; in administrative form; in its Proletarian constitution; in its insurgent origin; in its megalomania; in its grasping at the power of the police; in its measures and palliatives; its secularism; confiscation; its pauperizing policy, *the Commune of 1871 was the direct heir of the Commune of 1793*. Its foundation is celebrated to-day throughout Europe as the one great event in the socialist year.” *

These periodical insurrections covering a period of one hundred and twenty years show the character of dynamic Socialism, the persist-

**The Menace of Socialism* by W. Lawler Wilson, London 1909, pages 191 and 195.

ency of an Appetite spurred by Ambition. A remarkable thing about these insurrections is that they generally occur just after a war when the nation is weakened in men and money and in the least best condition to grapple with an internal enemy.

It will be noticed that these insurrections are about a generation apart though I am not trying to forecast when the next will break out; and this for the sufficient reason that when once on their guard, the American people will make short work of exploiters and exploitation.

A SOCIALIST MEETING|

Not unreasonably the reader may ask for a little more than mere opinions concerning the *geist* of dynamic Socialism especially as many of its speakers and writers in America proclaim loudly that they favor a peaceful revolution and, in no wise, council blood-shed or violence or anything but the most beautiful evolution into a government of brotherly love and sisterly affection. "Activity" is no part of their programme. *Caesar's Column* was only a clever figure of speech contrived by Ignatius Donnelly. Colonel Jesse Harper spoke without authority. And these kind people for the most part mean what they say.

There is, however, another class dangerous and audacious in the extreme. It dominates socialist conventions and policies; it is worldly-wise, selfish, intolerant, impertinent, over-bearing, contemptible,—I mean the Russian Ex-Jew who puts himself forward at every socialist meeting and with astonishing volubility attacks American laws, constitutions, and institutions. The self-respecting, law-abiding, wealth-creating Jews in this country, the rabbis, ought to lose no time in denouncing these non-descripts and putting the mark of Cain upon them and all their works. I come now to what I meant by giving a little more than mere opinion:

In 1900, I had lodgings in a hotel, known as *pension*, at the corner of *Rue Clair* and *Rue Saint Dominique*. Facing *Rue Clair* but two doors from the corner were the buildings of this *arrondissement*. A campaign came on in the fall for the election of a new Chamber of Deputies and a hall in this public building was used for campaign headquarters and public meetings.

The Parties of the Right do not hold public political meetings in Paris but conduct their campaigns quietly and often secretly. Parties of the Left make an open, aggressive campaign. This *arrondissement* hall was, therefore, in frequent use, indeed, in the last fortnight of the campaign, meetings were held in it every night. The hall

would hold between twelve hundred and sixteen hundred people standing. There was not a chair in it except one for the President and two upon which rested the two ends of a plank twelve or fourteen feet long. The assembling of the crowd was always orderly and timely,—perhaps one-third were women. The campaign started with three socialist candidates and ended with several more (I never knew how many) for the two parliamentary seats in this district. Not a night but the place was as full as it could stick.

The President always announced the first speaker with a polite little speech and assisted him to the plank. First the compliments of the evening and then of the occasion were passed. Then the candidate would begin to gesticulate, shrug his shoulders, reach out over the audience, and finally make his way, back and forth, along the plank. French agitators are born orators, linguists, and actors. Shortly the audience would become responsive, "Bravo—Bravo!" was always heard first. Next "*Bas!—Bas!*" would be heard. And not infrequently the meeting would turn itself into a contest between the Bravos and the *Bas—Bas*. The President had a way of shewing,—sch—sch,—to restore order. Sometimes questions would be asked and the speaker was expected to meet the "interpolations." These interpolations usually threw the meeting into the

wildest confusion. Not unfrequently a dozen, fifteen, yes twenty groups, would spontaneously form and wrangle among themselves, savagely, and always in dead earnest. Meanwhile, the speaker would cease walking the plank and wait while the debates and hot discussions went on. Meanwhile, too, the President shewed and hissed. But in the course of a few minutes the uproar would wear itself out and the speaker resume. The psychological force which generated itself in one of these meetings was simply irresistible and to me unexplainable,—the way the atmosphere would surcharge itself with an impending, subtle, over-powering influence is mysterious in the extreme;—and the women seemed to have more of this magnetic, overwhelming force than the men.

These women gesticulating with brawny, bare arms, bare heads and touzled pompadours; with wild faces and wonderfully expressive eyes,—their aptness, volubility, and readiness of speech; their abandon and spontaneity of expression in every limb and feature,—all this is something never seen in America nor anything approaching it. Generally a speaker was allowed an hour and then a contestant would follow for another hour. If the proceedings lagged in the least some one in the crowd would mount the plank and talk.

Sometimes a whole meeting would be given over to these general discussions. I have seen the excitement and uproar so strong that men would lose control of themselves and put the lights out. On more than one occasion I have seen the crowd file out of the hall and forming in hurried lines march to the *Champ de Mars* (only a few squares away) singing the *Mar-
seillaise*, always coming back to the *Rue Clair* to disband.

Such a crowd is not wanting in the picturesque:—broad-shouldered and short-legged workmen in gray smocks, petty but active tradesmen in blue smocks; the ends of their tasselled girdles swinging wildly about their trousers at least eighteen inches wide at the hips; the clatter of wooden-shoes on the cobble-stones; hats, caps, and Tam-o'-Shanters in the air,—all, in a way, under the leadership of a Butchers' guild of Old Villette:—These explain why the window-shutters in Paris are bullet-proof and why the mansions are defended by stone-walls with a fence of double spear-points running along its top.

Of course, I had not been in many of these meetings until I caught on to who the men and women were who had made a history for themselves; *they were always heroes of the Commune of 1871* and the greatest favorites were a few

rare, old characters who reinforced the record of 1871 by another *made in 1848*: Then I realized the power of the revolutionary spirit manifest in a modern socialist meeting professing above all things else a mission of brotherly love, "peace on earth and good will toward men."

I have said that scenes like these cannot be seen in America. They cannot. But the nearest approach is in a Socialist National Convention when the American delegates allow themselves to be overawed and brow-beaten and, in a parliamentary way, trampled on rough-shod by the ex-Jew element which had its origin either in White Chapel or the communes of Russia.

Danton could have quenched the revolutionary fire of 1793 if he had not played with it. So can the order-loving people in the United States. But ministers of the Gospel, professors in colleges, members of women's club, such men as you, Mr. Spargo, and you, Mr. Hunter,—all who preach and honestly stand for a pacific Socialism, a sweet, soft revolution which is to strip the proprietor of his property, to dispossess the Captains of Industry, to enthrone the unfortunate and the unwise,—for, as I have shown, you mean this or you mean nothing,—you are "sleeping in a storm and dreaming in a calm." You are unwittingly playing with revolutionary fire. Don't you see that Class-War justifies retaliation?

—nothing is better established in equity or at law than the right of self-defense and the Captains of Industry will not be slow to avail themselves of that right.

This new profession of agitation is dangerous. It is a paid agitation. Intellectually it is strong. Megalomania is always strong. In concentration it is strong. A single idea is always strong. Hence it is dangerous. But the danger is not ultimate; neither is it to the Captain of Industry near as much as it is to the working-man, and this danger to the working-man lies in the threat to overthrow the very means by which he now secures work and a livelihood.

I conclude, then, that Socialism, should be put upon the defensive. To placate the agitators is to fail to see the *geist* of their movement,—Placate?—as well beat back an eagle with a sunbeam: As well kill vipers by hatching their eggs.

Such is the view of the Anti-Socialist.

The truth lies somewhere between the extremes. This, however, cannot be successfully denied: Political Socialism divorced from Philosophic Socialism has no ground on which to stand,—it is an incorporeal impossibility.

THE KELLY COMPROMISE—AN OVERFLOW LETTER.

My Dear John Henry:

You remember the Indigent Brother whose remembrance, once a year, was a basket of eggs and a letter of good advice. May I not, in room of the letter, proffer you this little book? As to the eggs, alas,—my only mortgage must be paid!

So you are a Kellyite—made a Comrade by *Twentieth Century Socialism*. Well, I know of no book which analyzes, searches, and illuminates all the questions *relating* to Socialism, better. Neither do I know any which befuddles the *main* question, worse.

An instance: At page 230, we find the “time-cost” of a bushel of wheat figured at 10 minutes, oats 11, potatoes 11, and corn 32. Hence it is concluded that oats cost more than wheat, and corn as much as wheat, oats, and potatoes combined. Hence it is further concluded that, in a Socialist-State, labor could maintain itself on 4 hours daily work,—all this because a man in 4 hours, could produce 24 bushels wheat, 22 bushels oats, 22 bushels potatoes, $7\frac{1}{2}$ bushels corn, etc. Little account is taken of teams, tools, seeds, and weather, and no account is taken of *time to grow*.—Potatoes, like coal, in the Socialist-State, are to be dug out of the ground, any old time.

For one minute consider the iron industry: The same men as now, at the same wages as now, are to procure the same amount of ore,—30,000,000 tons,—as used now. It is hard to see how this would shorten the work-day, but it is claimed that profit-sharing and lower prices, in effect, would increase wages. An *Industrial Parliament* is to order the 30,000,000 tons. This *Industrial Parliament* is to “control production and *distribution*. By “administrative” decree, steel is to be distributed pound and ounce to rails, girders, eye-beams, plow-shares, jack-planes, and jack-knives; to each, to other, and to either; all in due proportion. O, the tyranny of a theoretical lead-pencil! Roses counted before they bloom; chickens figured before they hatch; barley-corns numbered for the 9th day of the next month—“Malthouse

A, Vat B, *so many*," will read this prophetic ledger. Supply-and-Demand, at last captured, will be imprisoned betwixt the two signs of a division-table: "Hats off, Gentlemen, a Genius!" Either that or a hurra's nest, indeed. If a Genius, let him not depart, lest the "dividend" fail to exceed the "divisor."

Was Mr. Kelly blind of an inner eye? He bewails the "un-employed," but fails to behold the streets,—see the crowds on two half-holidays a week. Everywhere 3-dollar boots and 3-dollar hats. Ball-parks congested. Theatres full. Stomachs full, happily filled with what your father and mine would have called luxuries. "Un-employment?"—with farmers crying for hands, defaulting which, production runs down and prices run up. Moreover, "farm colonies" for the poor are demanded;—this with most counties now owning and operating Poor-farms in abundance. Moreover again, "prostitution" (an advertising word, of late, much over-worked;) is charged solely to un-employment;—this, with almost omniverous demand for domestic helpers.

Was Mr. Kelly slow of an inner ear? He seems not to hear the Captain of Industry treading the floor, past midnight, in brown study how to pay his men;—this, while an agitator, idle "by the first intention," at the next square, is vociferating, "Out with the Capitalist!"

Was Mr. Kelly "afraid of his horses?" Then why not call his *Industrial Parliament* a State? Extra-judicial, without legal and penal sanctions to enforce its decrees, it would be a mere gratuity, a voluntary body. Now, no one objects to a voluntary co-operation. Any dozen workingmen, anywhere and anywhen, may buy a pig of any farmer, dress it, divide it, and thus save freight-charges and packer's profits. Under the "Economic Interpretation" (dear to all Kellyites), no law can prevent. These men can and will do it, if meat is cheapened thereby. But right here an ugly question arises: Will the man who makes gun-barrels suffer himself to be ordered elsewhere to make pork-barrels? Can there be enforced *administration* without *government*?

Above all, where is Mr. Kelly's State coming out? If it gratify good men to gratify others and this Social-

ist-State gratifies all, then a dull, dead commonplace results. Kropotkin's vision (see *Mother Earth*) is far more attractive. If the Submerged Tenth be forced to emerge with a pry, an Eleventh Tenth will straightway proceed to take its place: Such is the Force of Life. If to-day Pietro were placed in the best house on the best farm in Iowa, to-morrow he and his wife with a dozen brats would troop back to their habitat in Bleaker Street—happy, twenty in a room and two hundred in a house. But forty years hence Pietro's grandson will be running a wholesale fruit-house, dispensing macaroni—not music—by the cart-load. Consider: Eden and the Beautiful Valley—both depopulated: Such is the Law of Life.

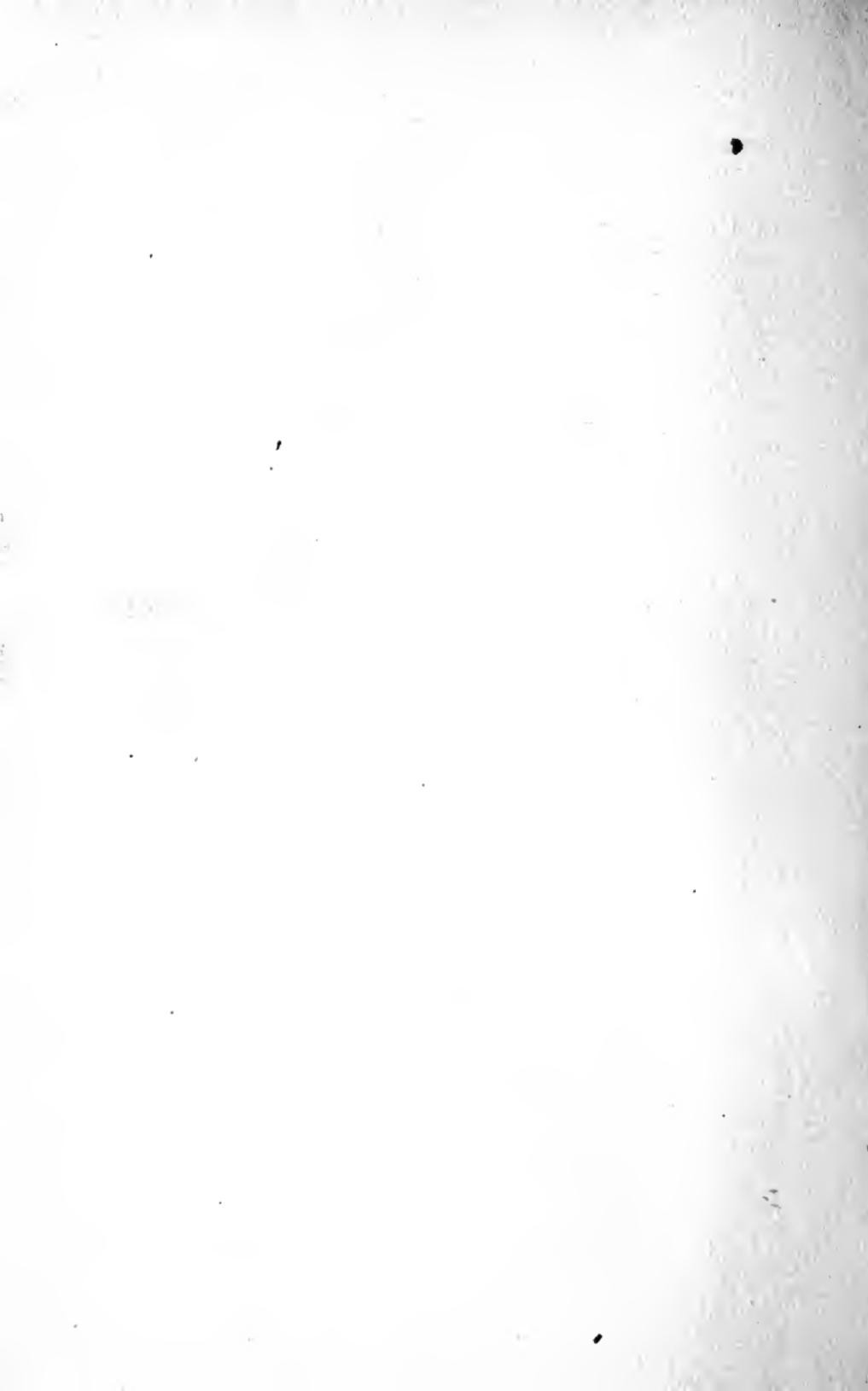
But something more agreeable awaits: Two-thirds of Mr. Kelly's book are a contribution of exceeding value. Beyond doubt, he shows that man may modify his natural surroundings, and within bounds, may direct his own development,—realize himself,—immensely valuable that. But in method, he lays the accent upon *social relations* thus compromising the unit and primary group and with them, *Competition*. His avowed purpose is to compromise on what is good in Socialism and what is good in established order. But only in a half-hearted way can he see any good at all in the latter. The work of Edmond Kelly, the Columbia professor, stands out and above, far above, that of most socialist writers. Sorrowfully, it must be said that in finishing this book he finished this life. One went out as the other came in. May the reading of his pages touch back to memory only generous thoughts. But we must not forget that voluntary co-operation is in contempt of nobody except Socialists and that Professor Kelly's Industrial Parliament would be either a tyrant or an inexhaustible fountain of harmless decrees,—decrees without dynamics are in contempt of everybody.

All this brings me back to the *individual*, back to you, Good Sir. True enough you and your household depend upon social relations but not so much as social relations depend upon you and your household. If you'll take the man, John Henry, in hand; see that he is truthful for the sake of Truth, honorable for the sake

of Honor, devout for the sake of Devotion; a good husband and a kind father; familiar with his Bible, rosary, and hymn-book; on communing terms with the Great All-father;—once the units are right, there'll be little trouble with the mass. Is it not so? "Economic determinism?" let the Kellyites and the Marxites; the Debbsites, Carrites, and Spargoites pull hair as they will.

But "service," you say: In very truth, I am sick of that over-preached word, hearing which I want to go to the barn, where there is at least horse-sense. ("Fit associate for animals," I hear you say.) Service is all right as an effect, spontaneous and overflowing. As a cause, presuming and premeditated, all wrong. It may be the price of Applause; of Popularity; the cheapest Purchase of an Indulgence; the Product of a Rotten Heart. The greatest of all laws does not say: Do unto others as *they* would that *you* should do unto *them*. Shift the accent my boy.—But, here comes Susie running with excited tidings: She's found a turkey's nest, the basket of eggs will go at once.

JOSEPH HENRY.



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